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GNOMIC POETRY
IN ANGLO-SAXON

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 ten hmanigost. he byð lengest ceald. þunni þunni pitegost. spe-
 gel byð hatoost. hæfere hæl eadegost. hæledum hænged. gefer
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 wost. gold gumaena ge hman. 7 gomol fæorþe. þunni ge-
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GNOMIC POETRY

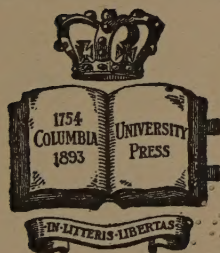
IN

ANGLO-SAXON

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION
NOTES AND GLOSSARY

BY

BLANCHE COLTON WILLIAMS, PH.D.



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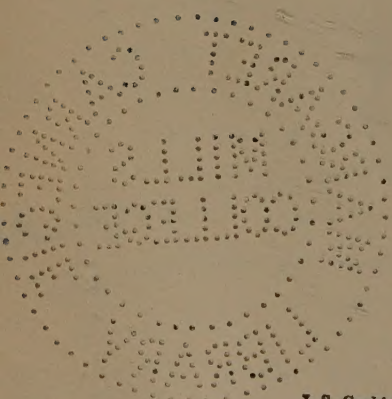
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*This Monograph has been approved by the Department of
English and Comparative Literature in Columbia University
as a contribution to knowledge worthy of publication.*

A. H. THORNDIKE,
Executive Officer.

22969

To
MY MOTHER
AND TO THE MEMORY OF
MY FATHER

PREFACE

THIS study, in attempting to show the prevalence and significance of sententious verse throughout Anglo-Saxon poetry, falls into two chief divisions. The introduction, though incidentally drawing illustrations from North Germanic literature, deals mainly with gnomic lines in Anglo-Saxon epic, lyric, and didactic poetry, exclusive of the *Exeter Gnomes* and the *Cotton Gnomes*. The second part consists of the texts of these collections, prepared from the manuscripts, with analysis and notes.

One of the pleasures arising from the labor of putting together this little volume is the acknowledgment of aid and friendly criticism. To the Reverend Canon Walter Edmonds, of Exeter Cathedral, I am grateful for access to the unique Exeter Manuscript. To the authorities of the British Museum, to the librarians of Harvard University, and particularly to the librarians of Columbia University, I am indebted for unflinching courtesy and helpful coöperation. Professor Frederick Tupper, of the University of Vermont, has my hearty thanks for assistance in textual interpretation and for guidance of the work in the summer of 1912. To Professors G. P. Krapp, H. M. Ayres, and A. F. J. Remy I am indebted for reading the manuscript and offering valuable suggestions. To Professor W. W. Lawrence, however, I owe most.

He called the subject to my attention and from the beginning has generously given his time and scholarship to the progress of the investigation.

The bibliography consulted has of necessity been so voluminous and heterogeneous that it would be difficult to select a representative list of books. Works referred to in the introduction are designated in footnotes. For abbreviations in either part which are not self-explanatory, the table prefixed to the text may be consulted.

B. C. W.

NEW YORK CITY,
December, 1913.

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Glēawe men sceolon gieddum wrixlan

GNOMIC POETRY IN ANGLO-SAXON

INTRODUCTION

I

AMONG Anglo-Saxon poems which have received comparatively small notice from scholars of the present day are the *Gnomic Verses* of the Exeter Book and the Cotton Manuscript. They have not entirely escaped observation, for they have been printed in collections and have been given passing glances in articles dealing with other topics. But only once have they formed the subject of a separate work.¹ Practically no attempt has been made to relate the *Gnomic Verses* with the gnomic mood revealed in sententious sayings of epic and lyric. Some writers of literary history,² it is true, indicate that they recognize the relation, but they have lacked space for detailed study. No writer has at once pointed out the significance of the gnomic reflections which occur so often in early Anglo-Saxon literature, traced their gradual decadence as the Anglo-Saxon period de-

¹ *Über die Angelsächsischen Versus Gnomici*, Hugo Müller, Jena, 1893.

² Weinhold, Meyer, Koegel, for example. Lawrence's articles on the lyrics have taken more account of the gnomic phase than have the works of other writers; to his recognition of the gnomic mood is due, in a number of poems, a new interpretation of some difficult passage.

clined, brought together the most prominent examples, and from them drawn inferences regarding Teutonic life and thought. Although the present volume is avowedly indebted to all predecessors who have in any one of these particulars contributed notes on gnomonic poetry, it claims for its individual achievement the modest attempt to perform the varied task just indicated.¹

At the outset it becomes necessary to define terms. According to the *New English Dictionary*, a gnome is "a short pithy story of a general truth; a proverb, maxim, aphorism, or apophthegm." The *International Encyclopædia* calls it "a short and pithy proverbial saying, often embodying a moral precept."² *La Grande Encyclopédie* is more explicit: "On désigne sous ce nom une forme particulière de philosophie, qui fleurit surtout au VI^e siècle avant notre ère, et qui est comme la première ébauche de la morale. Formuler des sentences qui resument l'expérience et les observations de ceux qui aiment à réfléchir sur les conditions de la vie pratique, y mêler quelques conseils présentés sous forme de maximes brèves et précises, raisonner sur la vie, mais sans rien qui ressemble à une théorie, sans principes fixes et sans méthode régulière, telle fut l'œuvre des premiers gnomiques."³ Meyer's *Konversations-Lexikon* defines gnome as "ein spruch, in dem ergebnisse der lebensbeobachtung in

¹ The study aims in no respect, however, to be exhaustive. Some time ago, Meyer observed that it would be difficult to compile a complete gnomology of Germanic literature. Later, Koegel, echoing Weinhold, declared the desirability of a monograph on gnomonic verse in Old Norse. It is significant that none has yet been written.

² VIII, 787.

³ 18, 1125.

sinnreicher kürze ausgedrückt sind, entweder metrisch oder in prosa abgefasst." ¹

The German "denkspruch," synonym of "gnome," is defined by Grimm (*Wörterbuch*) as "memorabilis sententia." "Sententia" is the term Quintilian employs: "Antiquissimae sunt, quæ proprie, quamvis omnibus idem nomen sit, sententiæ vocantur, quas Græci γνῶμας appellant." ² "Sententiæ" is evidently a translation of the Greek γνῶμαι. Aristotle devotes considerable space to the discussion of γνῶμαι, ³ wherein his definition is translated by Jebb as follows: ⁴ "A maxim is a statement, not about a particular fact, as about the character of Iphikrates, but general; not about all things, — but about those things which are the objects of action, and which it is desirable or undesirable to do." ⁵

From combining and sifting these statements, we may say, in general, a gnome is a sententious saying; in particular, it may be proverbial, figurative, moral. The various types, possessing each its individual characteristics, account for diversity of definition. But, as the preceding paragraphs have indicated, the meaning has been, on the whole, pretty constant from the time of Aristotle to the present.

Primarily, the noun "gnomist" is applied to the Greek sententious poets, of whom the first — Hesiod

¹ 8, 66 (Ed. 1907). Throughout, I have taken the liberty of normalizing quotations from the German by using Roman type and avoiding capitalization of nouns.

² *Orat.*, VIII, 5.

³ *Rhet.*, II, xxi, 1-16.

⁴ *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, A Translation by Sir R. C. Jebb, ed. by J. Sandys, Cambridge, 1909, pp. 112-113.

⁵ Note the choice of Jebb, — "maxim."

and Theognis — lived some six hundred years before the Christian era. These gnomists are the ethical predecessors of Sophocles and Euripides, many of whose reflections are gnostic distiches expanded. And not only lyrists and dramatists wrote gnomologically; epic poets often turned aside from the narrative to make sententious generalizations.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, various Greek Gnomologies were compiled,¹ of which, as collectors, the names of Neander² and Duport³ are prominent. Neander observed that the gnomology of the Greeks was derived from the Hebrews; Duport published with his Homeric collection an "Index of places in the Holy Scriptures, to which the gnomes of Homer are similar or not dissimilar." Henry Peacham in his *Garden of Eloquence*⁴ was writing not only with Hebrew and Greek in mind, as exemplars of this "apte brevity," but was also erecting his little discourse on Aristotle's foundation:

"Gnome, a saying pertaining to the manners, and common practises of men, which declareth by an apte brevity, what in this our lyfe ought to be done, or not done. Fyrst, it is to be noted, that every sentence is not a figure, but that only which is notable, worthy of memory, and approved by the judgement and consent of all men, which being excellent, maketh the oration not only bewtifull and goodlye, but also

¹ Probably owing to the impetus given by Erasmus's *Adagiorum Collectanea*, 1515.

² *Opus Aureum*, Lipsiæ, 1559.

³ *Homeri, Poetarum Seculorum facile principis, Gnomologia Duplici Parallelismo illustrata; etc.*, Per Jacobum Duportum Cantabrigiensim, Græcæ Linguae nuper Professorum Regium, Cantabrigiæ, etc., 1660.

⁴ *The Garden of Eloquence*, London, 1577, p. 149 ff.

grave, puissante, and ful of maiesty, whereof there be sundry kindes."

As rhetorical flowers, then, in his *Garden*, the gnomes are analyzed into their various sub-species. There are ten kinds, according to the elder Peacham.¹ Aristotle named but four. It must be observed that the gardener uses arbitrary, meaningless, and overlapping classifications. For example:

"The nynth is a pure sentence, not mixed with any figure else, as; the covetous man wanteth as wel that which he hath, as that which he hath not: wyne maketh glad the hart of man. The tenth is a figured sentence whereof there be as many kindes as there be figures, and if it be figured, it hath the name of the same figure wherewith it is joyned."

The conclusion is more pertinent:

✓ "Now in a sentence, heede must be taken that it be not false, straunge, light, or without pyth: secondly, that they be not to thick sprinckled, and to ofte used, that which is lawfull for Philosophers, is not graunted to Oratoures, because orators are the handlers of matters, and philosophers the instructors of life."

For centuries associated with Greek and Hebrew literatures, the term "gnomic" has been tardily applied to sententious poetry in Anglo-Saxon. In 1826, Conybeare, observing the resemblance of certain passages in the Exeter Book to writings of Theognis, and sayings of Solon and the Seven Wise Men, published them under the title, "Gnomic Poem."² Shortly

¹ Cf. Quintilian, *Orat.* VIII, 5: Sunt etiam, qui decem genera fecerint, sed eo modo, quo fieri vel plura possunt.

² *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, J. J. Conybeare, London, 1826, pp. viii, 228.

afterwards Thorpe appropriated the adjective.¹ Soon German scholars adopted "Versus Gnomici" or its synonym "Denksprüche," and at the present time both captions are in established usage. It may as well be stated here that Anglo-Saxon verse is gnomic so far as the presence of gnomic lines here and there adds sententiousness, but that certain poems deserve preëminently the title because their very essence is sententious. Brandl speaks of "epos, gnomik, and lyrik" as if to rank the three varieties equal in importance.² The field between epic and lyric in Anglo-Saxon verse is largely occupied by poems of a moral nature, but to characterize them all as gnomic seems extending the word beyond its due bounds, at the same time distorting its true significance.

Proverbs have been sometimes compared with or confused with gnomes. Aristotle recognized different kinds of proverbs: "When Aristotle in one place defines proverbs as 'Metaphors from species to species,' and elsewhere says, 'Some proverbs, again, are also maxims,' he evidently discriminates between proverbs in the stricter sense and the popular sentence, though he classes the latter in a wider sense likewise as proverbs."³ Proverbs which are "metaphors from

¹ *Codex Exoniensis*, B. Thorpe, London, 1842, p. viii.

² *Geschichte der Altenglischen Literatur*, in Paul's *Grundriss*, 1908, I, 1011, and *passim*. Cf. Golther: "Die Eddalieder enthalten götter- und heldensage und spruchweisheit." — *Nordische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 9.

³ "Wenn Aristoteles die sprichwörter einmal definiert als μεταφοραὶ ἀπ' εἰδὸς ἐπ' εἶδος (3, 11) und an einer anderen stelle (2, 21) sagt εἶναι τῶν παροιμιῶν καὶ γνῶμας εἶναι, so unterscheidet er offenbar zwischen den sprichwörtern im strengeren sinne und den volkstümlichen sentenzen, rechnet aber auch diese im weiteren umfange ebenfalls noch zu den sprichwörtern." — *Die Sprichwörter der Römer*, A. Otto, Leipzig, 1890, p. xii.

species to species" the Greek rhetorician evidently takes to be proverbs in the usual sense, and "proverbs which are also maxims" to be popular sayings, which by virtue of expanded definition fall under the generic term. This difference is not similar to the one to be established here; it is given to indicate that as early as Aristotle rhetorical distinctions were perceptible in the general class of popular sayings.

Since some of the definitions make "gnome" synonymous with "proverb," significant is the choice of "denkspruch," not "sprichwort," by Grimm. F. Mone says in effect that proverbs (*sprichwörter*) and gnomes (*denksprüche*) are different in that the former are popular expressions, while the latter are individual utterances. Through dissemination, however, gnostic sentences may become proverbs.¹ A similar distinction is made by Otto in the work just referred to, when he suggests that the circulation of the gnome is less extensive than that of the proverb.² F. W. Bergmann, in his collection of "*Sprüche, Priameln, und Runenlehren*," expresses a similar opinion.³ Proverbs (*sprichwörter*) are, he says substantially, principles derived from experience of folk custom, teaching of folk morality, and expression of folk philosophy and folk wit. Sayings (*sprüche*) are differentiated principally in having a higher wisdom, which rests upon deeper thought, and therefore they strike a higher tone. Proverbs and sayings blend in certain

¹ *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur und Sprache*, Bd. I, p. 193.

² " . . . gnomen — die sicherlich nie in weitere kreise gedungen sind." *Op. cit.*, p. xiv.

³ *Des Hehren Sprüche (Hávamál)*, Strassburg, 1877, pp. 192 ff.

instances, as for example when a saying the author of which is known and celebrated becomes a popular proverb.

Such attempts to separate gnome and proverb, however successful they may be in theory, usually fall short in practice. In Old Norse literature, as Bergmann adds, the difference between the two types of expression was not hard and fast; hence, proverbial sayings and individual sentences are designated by the same name, *máls hættir* (sprucharten), or aphorisms. They meet on a common ground, where the term "sprüche" covers both. The same thing seems to be true of Anglo-Saxon aphorisms, which though of individual origin have often a proverbial ring.¹

In this study the word "gnomic" is synonymous with "sententious." (Cf. "gnome," above.) The adjective is applied to a generalization of any nature whatsoever. Such generalization may or may not be proverbial; it may express a physical truth, announce a moral law, or uphold an ethical ideal. The language may be literal or figurative.

And now, having mapped out the boundaries of the term, we may turn to the questions concerning the origin and the conservation of gnomic verse.

II

Gnomes are very common in early literature and they probably occur among all peoples. Egyptian literature abounds in "rules for wise conduct

¹ *E.g.*, *Gn. C.*, 10 a, 13 a; *Gn. Ex.*, 144, 155 b, 159, 168. Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 31, and Max Förster, *Eng. St.*, XXXI, 1 ff.

and good manners which are put into the mouth of a wise man of old times," some of them having their origin thousands of years before the Christian era.¹ Somewhat later, the sage 'Eney bequeathed to his son Chenshôtep a set of comparatively simple proverbs, many of which suggest the gnomic *Hôvamôl*. "Beware of a woman from strange parts," "Treat a venerable wise man with respect," "Drink not to excess,"² — these are illustrative.³ It is well known that Chinese classics are noteworthy for their sententious character. The *Shih*, or the *Book of Poetry*, which includes pieces from B.C. 1766 to B.C. 586, is filled with selections of a gnomic-lyric quality. In it occur warnings similar to those in other early literatures, "Be apprehensive," "Be cautious."⁴ From the *Shû*, the most ancient of the classical books (B.C. 2357–627 *circ.*), an ode entitled the *Songs of the Five Sons* contains such lines as "The people are the root of a country," and "The ruler of men should be reverent of his duties."⁵

If we ask, then, How did Germanic sayings, gnomic

¹ Proverbs of Ptahhôtep, teaching of Dauuf, teaching of Amenemhêt. Cf. *Life in Ancient Egypt*, A. Erman, translated by H. M. Tirard, London, 1894, p. 331.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 155, 165, 265. Cf. also *Die Ägyptische Literatur*, A. Erman, in *Die Orientalischen Literaturen*, Berlin und Leipzig, 1906, p. 32.

³ Tacitus says expressly (*Germania*, IX) that "part of the inhabitants of Germany sacrifice to Isis." It is probable the Germans had some goddess similar to Isis, just as their gnomic sayings were similar. But there was not, therefore, necessarily any descent of gods and gnomologies from Egypt to Germany. Such resemblances merely illustrate the universality of common material.

⁴ *Sacred Books of the East* (General Editor, Max Müller), III. This volume is by James Legge, Oxford, 1879. Cf. p. 469.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

sentences, arise? we may temporarily shift the answer by inquiring into the origin of gnostic forms among older literatures. Or we might draw nearer home and ask how gnostic forms arose among the older brothers of the Indo-European family; for even a tentative investigation could not proceed far without some comparison of traits in a kinship so immediate. A sweeping glance reveals the popularity and prominence of wise saws among the Persians and Indians, who sprinkled their fables with pithy speeches or summarized the lessons of their narratives in morals tersely expressed. The last period of the Vedas is placed within five centuries before the Christian era. This was the age of Sutra literature, a "literature of short sayings strung together by teachers who studied brevity."¹ In the *Hitopadeśa*, a sequence of stories presenting counsel for the training of a prince, one finds on every page "intercalated verses and proverbs" which come from ages exceedingly remote.²

Among the subjects which have their analogues, if not their descendants, in the Germanic literatures is the immutability of fate. "That which will not be will not be, and that which is to be will be."³ This thought is repeated time after time. "Destiny is mightiest," Arnold translates what is doubtless the

¹ *Fables and Proverbs from the Sanskrit, being the Hitopadeśa*, translated by Charles Wilkins, Introduction by H. Morley, London, 1888, p. 6. A later translation of the *Hitopadeśa* is *Die Freundliche Belehrung*, J. Hertel, Leipzig, 1894.

² Cf. *The Book of Good Counsels: From the Sanskrit of the Hitopadeśa*, Sir Edwin Arnold, M.A., London, 1861, p. x.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

“Wyrð bið swiðost” of Teutonic nations.¹ The value and worth of friends are also emphasized, as in the *Hóvamól* and *Gnomic Verses*. “That friend only is the true friend who is near when trouble comes,”² and “Long-tried friends are friends to cleave to.”³

But the Teutons developed their literature independently of the Asiatics and possessed a gnomology of their own. How, then, did it arise? To answer the question, we may as well strike the trail into the backward of Germanic time as into that of a darker and more remote Oriental epoch. In a high degree, motives were the same, whether those motives produced their results in the oldest Eastern literature or in the youngest Western literature. A few guide-posts mark the way to Germanic origins, some of which are fragments of early writings, and others the statements of historians about those writings. We may

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 3, p. 17. One has only to turn through Böhlingk's three-volume collection of *Indische Sprüche* (St. Petersburg, 1870-1873) or even the small compilation of Fritze (*Indische Sprüche*, Leipzig) to find counterparts of ideas we shall come across in Germanic literature. Take, for instance, Fritze's last three lines of No. 15 :

“Ob wol des menschen arbeit je gelingt,
Wenn hindernd ihm auf seinen wegen
Die macht des schicksals tritt entgegen ?”

and No. 217 :

“Es traf sich, dass sich aus der harten hand
Des fischers, die ihn hielt, ein karpfen wand.
Da fiel er in das netz zurück. Er sprang
Auch aus dem netz ; allein darauf verschlang
Ein reiher diesen ärmsten. Wer entrinnt,
Wenn feindlich ihm das schicksal ist gesinnt !”

“Who escapes if Fate is inimically disposed to him ?” might be answered by the Teutonic passage, *Beowulf*, 572b-573 (see p. 36).

² *Book of Good Counsels*, p. 22.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

further, to some advantage, compare early civilization with that existing to-day, especially with that of "primitive" communities, among whom superficial ideals of culture interfere but slightly with native habit and custom.

Motives in literature spring out of elementary life concepts:¹ the world external and internal; the gods; the wonderful or marvelous; individual human beings and fundamental emotions, — the hero, friendship, love; daily life, and character. The truth of such a statement will hardly be questioned: it is obvious. The primitive literary impulse, then, will celebrate the gods in hymnic form, the human being in wedding hymns, heroic lay, or death song; it will make a speech or terse saying or ask a riddle about a natural phenomenon;² it will invent a charm to drive away an evil spirit.³

Didacticism enters very early; it is natural to mankind to teach, and in a time when memory is the only book, to instruct with brevity, terseness and weightiness is to follow the line of least resistance.

" 'What is best for the good of a tribe, O Cormac?' said Carbre.

¹ Cf. *Die altgermanische Poesie*, Richard M. Meyer, Berlin, 1889, pp. 41-72.

² Cf. *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, Spencer and Gillen, London, 1899, p. 360. Sitting for hours, the men, women, old men, old women, — all will chant, "The sand-hills are good," "Bind the Nurtunga round with rings," and the like. Cf. also *Primitive Poetry and the Ballad*, in *Modern Philology* I, 200, where Gummere alludes to the example here given.

Otto notes discriminations between old proverbs and later proverbs. — *Op. cit.*, p. xix.

³ *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur*, R. Koegel, Strassburg, 1894, I, 12-43.

“‘Not hard to tell,’ said Cormac. ‘Questioning the wise . . . Following ancient lore . . . Pleading with established maxims.’”¹

A brief review of the earlier types will indicate how they intermingle and overlap, and how all served as a matrix for embedding precious gems of wisdom.

Hymnic forms among the Germans were noticed by Tacitus, who says that in their ancient songs, “*carminibus antiquis*,” they celebrate the fathers and founders of the race.² Bridal songs, originally a special kind of religious hymn,³ are present among all Indo-European peoples. The love-lyric is an early development. It is an interesting fact that the Germanic lady gave advice and counsel to her lover or prophesied for him. Tacitus, again, has something to say about this gift of the woman: “They even think their women to have something of sanctity and foreknowledge, neither do they scorn their advice nor neglect their answers.”⁴ As an example, consider the *Sigrdrifomöl*. After Sigrdrifa has been roused from her slumber by Sigurd, she regales him with wise sayings and counsels; then she prophesies.⁵

Songs in honor of the dead are probably as early as funeral rites.⁶ From such ceremonies as were per-

¹ *The Instructions of King Cormac Mac Airt*, Kuno Meyer, Dublin, 1909, p. 7 ff.

² *Germania*, II.

³ Koegel, *op. cit.*, I, 44.

⁴ “*Inesse quinetiam sanctum aliquid, et providum putant; nec aut consilia earum aspernantur, aut responsa negligunt.*” — *Germania*, VIII. Strabo speaks of prophetesses among the Cimbri, cf. *Geog.* Bk. VII, Ch. 2; Cæsar has something to say about the wise mothers, cf. *de Bello Gallico*, I, 50.

⁵ Cf. p. 26.

⁶ “Eine totenklage war, wie es scheint, schon in indogermanischer zeit

formed at the funerals of Attila¹ and Beowulf,² where warriors rode about the mound chanting the deeds of the illustrious hero, it is but a step to worship of the dead and to verses in memory of the departed. Or, in another direction, it is but a step to the charm which would keep away the influence of an undesirable ghost.³ The kinship of memorial verses and of charms to gnomes is immediate.

Riddles, like most literature of similar kind, are of great age, having arisen early both among European and Asiatic peoples. From the riddle itself are evolved riddle-contests, the largest class of which is that wherein two persons alternately ask and answer riddles. Usually life or some other heavy penalty is the forfeit for failing to guess correctly the answer; this failure terminating a sequence of alternate propounding and solving.⁴ From such a game, gnomie wisdom may readily arise. The close connection between the riddle and the gnome may be illustrated by this example:⁵ "What is blacker than the raven?" "There is death." "What is whiter than the snow?" "There is the truth." Combine question and answer, and a gnome

mit der leichenfeier verbunden." — *Geschichte der Deutsch. Lit.*, J. Kelle, Berlin, 1892, I, 10. For a concise treatment of the subject, see Schücking's *Angelsächsisches Totenklagelied*, in *Eng. St.*, XXXIX, 1 ff.

¹ Cf. Jordanes, XLIX.

² *Beowulf*, 3171 ff.

³ Cf. *The Elder or Poetic Edda*, Part I, edited and translated by Olive Bray, London, 1908, p. xiii.

⁴ Cf. *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, edited by F. J. Child, I, 1, "Riddles Wisely Expounded." See the riddle contest in *Judges* xiv, 12 ff. The unfair advantage Samson takes of his opponents is of a kind with that which Gagnrad practices on Vafþrúðnir (see below). For an exhaustive discussion of riddle literature, see introduction to *The Riddles of the Exeter Book*, F. Tupper, Jr., New York, 1910.

⁵ *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, p. 3.

results: "Truth is whiter than snow." Or the process may have been the other way about.

In this illustration, we come near to the origin of figures in general. "So thoroughly does riddle making belong to the mythologic stage of thought, that any poet's simile, if not too far fetched, needs only inversion to be made at once into an enigma. The Hindu calls the sun *Saptâsva*, *i.e.*, seven-horsed, while with the same thought the old Germanic riddle asks, 'What is the chariot drawn by seven white and seven black horses?' 'The year drawn by the seven days and nights of the week.'"¹

Tacitus observes that the Germans love idleness yet hate peace: "*ament inertiam, et oderint quietem.*" In this respect, they resemble the sprightly but indolent Persians, to whom conversation is a game of skill, who "wish to measure wit with you, and exact an adroit, a brilliant, or a profound answer."² When, at home from battle, our Germanic forefathers sprawled around a fire and lazily employed their minds in a matching of wits, they found riddle-contests a popular means of diversion.

In the contests handed down to us, it is not surprising that sententious utterance appears, in keeping with the wit and wisdom of the speaker. Take, for example, *Vafþrúfnesmól*, one of the best representatives of this class. Odin, in the guise of Gagnrad, comes to the home of the giant. Before entering, he generalizes:

¹ *Primitive Culture*, E. B. Tylor, London, 1871, I, 84. Cf. Kelle, *op. cit.*, p. 74: "Ausser sprichwörtern waren rätsel und rätseldichtungen in geistlichen kreisen verbreitet."

² R. W. Emerson, in Preface to the *Gulistan* of Sadi, translated by F. Gladwin, Boston, 1865.

"Let the poor man who crosses the threshold of the rich
 Speak useful words or keep silent!
 Talkativeness works ill for every one
 Who comes to the cold-hearted."¹

Solomon and Saturn, a poem of similar kind, affords numerous instances of gnomic expression.

In this rapid summary, then, it may be seen that various types of early poetry contained sententious wisdom. But sometimes the maxims, instead of being encased in a lyric or a narrative poem, were strung together, as in the *Hǫvumǫl* and the Anglo-Saxon *Gnomic Verses*. And it should here be noted that the earliest gnomic verse among the Teutons must be studied in Old Norse and in Anglo-Saxon. In Old High German, the remains are insufficient and inconsiderable,² the chief survivals appearing to be a few lines of *denksprüche*,³ and a fragmentary memorial poem.⁴ As Scherer⁵ says, the principles which for the Teutons regulated life and morality were embodied in poetic form. There were no written laws, but the priest proclaimed those popularly approved. Hence came into play alliteration and other aids to the

¹ Óaupogr maþr, es til auþogs kǫmr,
 mæle þarft eða þege!
 Ofmælgje mikel hykk at illa gete
 hveims víþ kaldrifjaban kǫmr.

— *Die Lieder der Edda*, Sijmons-Gering, Halle, 1906, I, 57. Hereafter, abbreviated to S.-G.

Line 2 of this stanza is found also in *Hǫvumǫl*, stanza 19, S.-G. I, 27.

² Cf. Koegel, *op. cit.*, I, 76.

³ Cf. *Denkmäler Deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII-XII Jahrhundert*, herausgegeben von K. Müllenhoff und W. Scherer, Dritte Ausgabe, Berlin, 1892. *Denksprüche*, I, 195.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Memento Mori*, I, 73.

⁵ *A History of German Literature*, by W. Scherer, translated from the 3rd German ed. by Mrs. F. C. Conybeare, New York, 1886, I, 14.

memory, which, manifesting themselves in a string of precepts, might claim the title of poetry. Such examples of alliterative precepts may be found in the old constitution of the Icelanders; for instance, in the formula of peacemaking occurs the clause :¹

“ And he of you twain that shall go against the settlement
or atonement made,
Or break the bidden troth,
He shall be wolf-hunted and to be hunted,
As far as men hunt wolves :
Christian men seek churches ;
Heathen men sacrifice in temples ;
Fire burneth ; earth groweth ;
Son calleth mother, and mother beareth son ;
Folk kindle fire ;
Ship saileth ; shields glint ;
Sun shineth ; snow lieth ;
The Fin skateth ; the fir groweth ;
The hawk flieth the long spring day,
With a fair wind behind him on wings outspread ;
Heaven turneth ; earth is dwelt on,
Wind bloweth, waters fall to the sea ;
Churl soweth corn.”

¹ En sá yccarr es gengr á goervar sätter, eða vegr á veittar trygðer.
þá scal hann svá víða vargr vræcr oc vrecenn, sem menn vídazt varga a
vrecan.

Cristner menn circjor sökja,
heiðner menn hof blóta,
elldr up brennr, iaorð gróer
maogr móðor callar ; oc moðer maog fóader,
allder elda cynda :
scip scríðr, scilder blícja,
sól scinn, snæ leggr,
Fiðr scríðr, fura vex,
valr flýgr, vár-langan dag ;
stendr hónom byrr beinn und báða vænge :
himinn hverfr, heimr es bygðr,
vindr þýtr, vaotn til sævar falla,
carlar corne sá.

Origines Islandicæ, Vigfusson and Powell, Oxford, 1905, I, 316, note.

Such a formula bears the hall-marks of antiquity, in spite of the line introduced after the advent of Christianity.

III

Having observed the presence of sententious sayings among the early Teutons, and having glanced at their relations with other types of literature, we may fittingly investigate the nature of those sayings. What, in particular, are the kinds of gnomic wisdom supposedly proceeding from the mouths of gods, goddesses, and earthly men and women? By selecting and classifying a number of representative examples, we may best answer this question.

The first recorded saying which appears to be Germanic, is reported by Tacitus in the first century of the Christian era: "Women must weep and men remember," "Feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse."¹ The pithiness of the remark, its antithetic character, and especially its reflection of life are probably typical of the sayings of the tribe commemorated by the Latin historian.² It is similar to *Beowulf*, 1385-1386:

Ne sorga, snotor guma! Sēlre bið æghwæm,
 þæt hē his frēond wrece, þonne hē fela murne.

¹ *Germania*, XXVII.

² Translators generally render the maxim as if it were a Latin translation from the German. Cf. *Germania*, W. H. Fyfe, 1908, and the edition of N. S. Smith, 1828. The latter compares the custom with a similar one among the Canadian Indians. But it should be stated that Meyer is more conservative: "... man kaum der versuchung widersteht, den berichterstattn des alten historikers schon ein sprüchlein ähnlicher art zuzuschreiben." — *Op. cit.*, p. 457. And Müllenhoff, D.A.K., IV, 384, notes a resemblance of the speech to one in Seneca: "Hoc prudentum virum non decet: meminisse perseveret, lugere desinat." *Epist.* 99, 22.

But whether the reflection in Tacitus be from the Germans or from the Romans, it is probably no more ancient than a store of familiar sayings from which the Teutons drew in naming their runes. For out of such sayings they chose catchwords by which they designated the letters. Need lieth heavy on the heart (Nȳd byþ nearu on brēostan), Hope he enjoyeth not, who knoweth little of care (Wēn ne brūcep, ðe can wēana lȳt),¹ Wealth is transitory for everyone under heaven (Feoh æghwæm bið lāne under lyfte),² — such instances illustrate the view of Meyer, that the old runic names³ were suggestive of fixed maxims and postulates.⁴

But let us consider, more definitely, the remains of the North Germanic and the West Germanic literatures preserved in Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon. In the Eddic lays of gods and heroes are found wise saws, descended from a remote age. In the lays of epic character, they are infrequent, except in so far as prophecy is itself gnomic. In the *Vǫluspó*, the

¹ *Runenlied* (Bib. I, 331 ff.), l. 27.

² *Elene* (Bib. II, 126 ff.), ll. 1269b-1270a.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 2. Meyer adds, "deren typus die ags. 'denksprüche' am getreuesten bewahren mögen."

⁴ It is interesting by way of comparison to look at the Japanese alphabet and to see that the syllable names may be joined to form gnomic verses. The forty-seven characters (the final nasal, the forty-eighth character, is not included) have been arranged by the Japanese to read:

The pleasures of life are ephemeral!

But, after all, what is there that is desirable in this world?

In the depths of the mount of existence, the present day passes,

And is not even for us so much as the intoxication of a fitting dream!

I translate freely from the French of L. Rosny, in *Cours Pratique de Langue Japonaise*, Paris, 1903, pp. 8-10.

For calling this gnomic instance to my attention, I am indebted to my friend Professor Raymond Weaver of the Hiroshima Koto Shihangakko.

sibyl gives answer from her seat, performs her divinations, and prophesies for Odin. Occasional examples of this sort may be termed gnostic prophecies, having the brevity, but not perhaps the hidden or double meaning, of Greek oracles. The same kind of thing is found in *Baldre's draumar*, wherein Odin rides to the lofty hall of hell and from her grave wakens the dead prophetess who shall explain the meaning of Balder's bad dreams.

Nor in the dramatic¹ poems do we find many examples of sententious moralizing. The *Lokasenna*, in spite of its *flyting* nature and gnostic form, yields nothing. The *Hárbarðsljóð* might be supposed to teem with the wisdom of Greybeard; but he confines his impersonalities to the thrifty remark, "What is scraped from one oak benefits another. Every man for himself."² Skirnir answers sententiously to the herdsman who declares him doomed if he goes to the halls of hell: "Resolution is better than lamentation for one who is ready to go on a journey,"³ and he adds that his length of life has been decreed and set to a certain day.

But as would be expected, the didactic poems—or those which most deserve the adjective—contain numerous gnostic expressions. The *Hóvamöl* is classed by Meyer as one of the three essentially gnostic poems in Germanic literature.⁴

¹ In a sense, all the poems are didactic. But epic and dramatic qualities are stronger in the lays here tentatively classed under these headings.

² *pat hefr eik es af annarre skefr,*

of sik es hverr í síko.

—S.-G., I, 104.

³ *Skirnesmöl*, Stanza 13, Koster'o betre [heldr] an at klökkva sé hveims fuss es fara.

—S.-G., I, 92.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 452

Vafþrúfnesmól has been referred to above. Full of wise answers, but dealing with particulars, it is notably an exhibition of knowledge on the part of two wise men, whose pointed questions and curt replies are gnomic in manner, yet not general or "universal" in content, except for the saying quoted.

In *Grimnesmól*, Odin figures again. After he has been tortured eight nights by King Geirröd, the King's son Agnar brings him a brimming horn. Odin discourses at length and in the course of his recital of old lore turns aside to speak a few lines which have small bearing on the context:

"Yggdrasil's ash is the best of wood,
But Skithblathnir of ships,
Odin of gods, and Sleipnir of steeds,
Bifrost of bridges, Brage of skalds,
Hábrok of hawks and Garm of hounds." ¹

In the artificial character of these lines, wherein proper names are so arranged as to fit the metrical scheme, one cannot but observe a resemblance to the *Gnomic Verses* of the Cotton Manuscript.² A not dissimilar mosaic of names is found in *Alvíssmól*. The dwarf going in the night to the home of the gods for Freya, who has been promised him for his wife, is met by Thor. The god detains him by asking questions, which Alviss, proud of his wisdom, delights in answering. The night passes, day dawns, and

¹ Askr Yggdrasels hann es óztr víða,
enn Skíþbláðner skipa,
Óþenn ása, en jóa Sleipner,
Bilrost brua, en Brage skalda,
Hábrók hauka, en hunda Garmr. — S.-G., I, 84.

² See ll. 16 ff.

the sun rises, its rays turning the dwarf to stone. But in the meantime, the author of this interesting narrative has found opportunity to display his versecraft. Synonyms for earth, heaven, fire, moon, wood, — these and others are skilfully woven into the rhythmic pattern.

Characteristic of the attitude which the Norsemen held toward their dead is the story of Groa and her son Svipdag. As a power for good, Groa is called from her grave to counsel, to "sing sweet and strong spell-songs." One generalization on fate is suggested by her son's remark that he has been appointed to make what seems an impossible journey :

"Long is the journey, long are the pathways,
Long are the loves of men :
Even if it happen that you gain your will,
It will be at fate's decree." ¹

And the counterpart is found in a later stanza of the poem, or its sequel, when the journey having been at length taken, Svipdag finds Mengloth. Apparently recalling his mother's saying, he remarks :

"The word of fate no man may withstand." ²

In the *Hyndlóljóð*, the prophetess recalls the past and becomes prophetic, as does the one in *Baldre draumar*. A gnostic passage spoken by this sibyl, who was probably called up from the grave as in the case of Groa or the wise woman who prophesied for Bal-

¹ Long es fqr, langer 'o farvegar,
langer 'o manna muner ;
ef þat verþr, at[þu] þinn vilja bíþr,
ok skeikar þó Skuldar at sköpom. — S.-G., I, 197.

² Urþar orþe víþr enge maþr. — S.-G., I, 212.

der, is significant for its resemblance to a passage in *Christ*,¹ and elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon verse. It is to be observed that the giver is the war-father (Herfoðr), as the stanza immediately preceding this one clearly shows :

“He gives victory to some, and to others gold,
Skill in words to many and understanding ;
He gives fair wind to men, and poetic art to skalds,
He gives valor to many men.”²

Hóvamól, the poem wherein “human experience is elevated to godly wisdom,”³ contains three sections, the first two of which treat of the ethics of love, friendship, war, and hospitality. Customs and social laws here and there agree with those observed by Tacitus, and with those recorded in the Anglo-Saxon *Gnomic Verses*. In the main, the precepts are archaic and heathen, though a number are of late origin and Christian. To discuss these sayings would require a separate study, or a recapitulation of such a study as that made by Bergmann.⁴ Meyer calls attention to speeches related to those in other lays,⁵ and Ranisch points out some of the wise saws in its repository.⁶ Victor Nilsson marks off interpolations which separate *Loddfáfnismól* from the rest of the poem.⁷ Of

¹ See pp. 53, 63.

² Gefr sigr sumom, en sumom aura,
mælsko mǫrgum ok manvit fróm ;
byrre gefr brǫgnom en brag skǫldom,
gefr manseme mǫrgum rekke. — S.-G., I, 179.

³ Cf. *Nordische Literaturgeschichte*, W. Golther, Leipzig, 1905, p. 21.

⁴ See above, p. 7.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 72 ff.

⁶ *Eddalieder*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 45 ff.

⁷ *Loddfáfnismál*, University of Minnesota, 1898.

stanzas 1-78 he says: "The keynote of the leading theme is one of bitterness and fierceness. The bits of advice given are in the nature of morals, but not of a Christian standard. They teach smartness. Life is depicted as a ceaseless battle in which everybody must be on his guard, prepared to receive and to deal out blows. The redeeming feature is the appreciation of the sterling individual and of a good posthumous reputation."¹

In the lays of the gods, wisdom is for the most part attributed to chief divinities; in the lays of heroes, to famous men, half mythical or wholly historical.

Toward the close of *Grípesspó*, Sigurd remarks, "No man can withstand his fate."² Again and again the inevitableness of fate appears. In *Atlamól*, Hogni says, "From his fate no man can flee."³ It is a coincidence striking enough that Jordanes reports Attila himself as using these words in his address to the army before the battle of Catalaunian Plains, A.D. 451: "No spear shall harm those who are sure to live; and those who are sure to die fate overtakes even in peace" (Chapter XXXIX).⁴ The words of Starkad are to the same effect: "His final fate carries off every living man; doom is not to be averted by skulking."⁵

¹ *Loddfáfnismál*, University of Minnesota, 1898, p. 3.

² *Monat skopom vinna*. — S.-G., I, 304.

³ *Skopom viðr mange*. — S.-G., I, 448.

⁴ "Victuros nulla tela conveniunt, morituros et in otio fata præcipient." — *Jordanis Romana et Getica*, Recensuit Theodorus Mommsen, Berlin, 1882, p. 111. Cf. *The Origin and Deeds of the Goths*, C. C. Mierow, Princeton, 1908, p. 63.

⁵ *Saxonis Grammatici, Gesta Danorum*, herausgegeben von Alfred Holder, Strassburg, 1886, p. 215. Cf. Books I-IX translated into Eng-

In the sequence lays, *Regensmól*, *Fáfnesmól*, and *Sigrdrifomól*, the chief speakers are respectively Andvari, Fafnir, and Sigrdrifa, who, in turn, teach their pupils. Andvari admonishes, "False words against another strike deep roots of retribution,"¹ and a little later he asserts that it is a bad thing to outrun one's luck.² Hreidmar, the bereaved father, also has his gnomic fling, "Much is it that necessity compels."³

In *Fáfnesmól*, particularly noticeable are the general remarks which buttress the special instance. Sigurd thinks a cowardly youth will hardly make a valiant old man;⁴ Fafnir observes that they say a bondman always trembles,⁵ and, in turn, is capped by Sigurd, who suggests with apparent irrelevance, "Every one longs to enjoy his riches to the last day."⁶ Fafnir dies, didactic to the end,⁷ a believer in fate, like all the others. Sigurd has an extended speech on courage, an extension due to addition of brief statements: "Courage is worth more than the might of the sword when fearless men are to fight.

lish by O. Elton, London, 1894 [Commentary by F. York Powell], p. 259.

¹ Ósaþra orþa hverrs á annan lýgr
oflengi leiða limar. — S.-G., I, 309.

Cf. H. Gering's Glossary, 1907, p. 112, "weithin führen die verzweigungen unwahrer worte," etc.

² Ill's fyr heill at hrapa. — *Ibid.*, 316.

³ Mart's þats þorð þear! — *Ibid.*, 311.

⁴ Fár es hvatr, es hröðask tekr,
ef í barnósko es blaupr. — S.-G., I, 321.

⁵ Aé kveða bandingja bifask. — *Ibid.*

⁶ Féé ráða skal fyrða hverr
æ til ens eina dags. — *Ibid.*, 322.

Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 457, who thinks this naïve speech is uttered as a universal principle, without any immediate moral or practical bearing.

⁷ Allt es feigs forað, *Ibid.*, 322.

It fares better in the war game with the bold man than with the coward, and better with the glad man than with the timid, whatever comes to hand."¹

Sigrdrifomól, as it is the third and last of this series, is also the climax in sententious wisdom and prophetic power. The sleeping maiden on being roused from slumber speaks,² first, runes of various things, — mind and love, sea and victory. Then she gives eleven counsels, some of which — for example, the fifth, against alluring women — are akin to those in the *Wise Father's Instruction*. The ninth enjoins care for the dead: "At[pú]nðom bjarger hvars[pú]á foldo fípr." This injunction is similar to the one in the *Exeter Gnomes* (l. 115), both testifying to the importance of burial. Concerning the woes of humanity, a general statement springs out of the counsels: "Manifold are the troubles of men,"³ a sentiment repeated in *Helreið Brynhildar*, stanza 14.

Atlamól, besides the sentence quoted, has also another of decided gnostic character. Gudrun declares that women suffer from men's tyranny;⁴ and she in-

¹ Hugr es betre an[sé]hjors megen
hvars skolo vreiðer vega :

* * * *

Hvotom's betra an[sé]óhvotom.

í hildeleik hafask ;

glöðom's betra, an[sé]glúpnanda

hvats[at hende kœmr. — S.-G., I, 327.

² An interesting example of literary prophecy occurs in *Gripesspá*, where Sigurd's uncle foretells that Brunhilde will counsel him. "She shall teach thee every mystery men wish to know, and to speak in every man's tongue, healing and leechcraft." — S.-G., I, 296.

³ Fjölb's þats fira tregr. — S.-G., I, 347.

⁴ Kostom drepr kvenna karla ofríke. — S.-G., I, 456.

dulges further in a figurative proverb, "The tree must fall if the root be cut."¹

Atlakviða has two examples of reflection in the poet's own person curiously like the "So should a young man" type in *Beowulf*. The first instance is in stanza 20: "So should a brave man defend himself against his foes!"² said in applause of Hogni's deed. The second is in stanza 34: "So shall a valiant hero guard his gold from his enemies!"³ in commendation of Gunnar.

In *Hampésmöl*, the half-brother Erp appears to have had a propensity for untimely quotation of old saws. "It's ill work to show cowards the way," he taunts,⁴ and for the implication loses his life. Respect for the aged and their advice is indicated by a sentence of Hamper's, "Opt ór belg orþgom þoll röp koma,"⁵ while Sorli's contribution is to the effect that it is a very sad lack if a man lack wisdom.⁶ He also speaks of the uselessness of fighting the decree of the Norns: "No man lives over the evening after the word of fate has gone forth."⁷

It has already been observed that the Norse ascribed their wise sayings to gods and men alike. The *völva*, or prophetess, represents the elevation into literature of the divining, soothsaying woman, in whom the Germans, according to Tacitus, had considerable confidence. The gods are best represented

¹ Tré tekr at hníga, ef hæggr tég undan. — S.-G., I, 456.

² Svá skal frókn verjask fiðndom sínom. — S.-G., I, 428.

³ Svá skal golle frókn hringdrife við fíra halda. — *Ibid.*, 432.

⁴ Ílt's blaupom hal brauter kenna. — S.-G., I, 480.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 483. Cf. *Hǫvumöl*, stanza 133, *Wanderer*, ll. 64, 65.

⁶ Mikels es á mann hvern vant es manvits es. — *Ibid.*, 484.

⁷ Kveld lifer maðr etke, ept kvip norna. — *Ibid.*, 485.

by Odin, whose growth in gnostic expression may be traced by his successive exploitations, from his visits to the *vǫlva*, where he goes to seek wisdom. Nor is the dwarf to be disregarded. Alvis by his name bears evidence that knowledge was associated with dwarfish stature.¹ Among the heroic figures, women are notably expounders of cryptic remarks, runic sayings, and gnostic advice: witness Gudrun and Brunhilde; in a lesser degree, male figures — Fafnir, Hreidmar, and Sigurd, for example — become the mouthpieces of wisdom. Graybeards, as the poems here and there testify, were held worthy of respect: some of the most didactic portions of the *Hǫvumǫl*, exclusive of the lessons of *Loddfáfnir*, illustrative of the same thing, seem to be lessons or advice given to young men by their old tutors. Finally, as may have been noticed above, the poet sometimes speaks in his own person.

Most of these speeches, then, fall under the following heads:

1. Fate (*Groogaldr*, *Gripessþó*, *Hampésmǫl*).
2. Circumspection in speech (*Vafþrúðnesmǫl*, *Regensmǫl*).
3. Woes of men (*Regensmǫl*, *Sigrdrifomǫl*, *Helreið Brynhildar*).
4. Courage and cowardice (*Fáfnismǫl*, *Atlakviða*, *Hampésmǫl*).
5. Women (*Sigrdrifomǫl*, *Atlamǫl*).
6. Wisdom of the old (*Hampésmǫl*, *Hǫvumǫl*).

A complete study would reveal a fuller list, but this is illustrative of Norse characteristics. The

¹ It will be remembered that among the folk of the present day the belief is common that dwarfs and hunchbacks are possessed of extraordinary intellect.

Norseman preached prudence, he scorned cowardice and exalted courage, he was oppressed by a sense of the miseries of life and the inevitableness of fate.

Before speaking of the preservation of gnomic verses in Old Norse, it will be best to consider their appearance in the West Germanic literature as represented by Anglo-Saxon.

In Anglo-Saxon epic and lyric of oldest origin, verses of gnomic import, if not always of gnomic length, are frequent. Their presence has been at times regarded as an element disturbing the unity of the epic lay, though with light thrown from shorter poems, into which they are likewise interjected, it seems clear that they were not held to be irrelevant at the time of their inclusion; unless, indeed, the unity of even the shortest poems be contested. Even if the poems are, in some instances, composite, it shows that the compiler felt gnomic verse might be blended with other matter.

In *Beowulf*, I classify the following lines and groups of lines as gnomic divagations, apart from the current of the story:¹ 20-25; 183*b*-188; 287*b*-289; 440*b*-441; 455*b*; 572*b*-573; 931*b*-932; 1003*b*-1004; 1058*b*-1063; 1385*b*-1390; 1535*b*-1537; 1664*b*-1665*a*; 1839*b*-1840; 1941*b*-1944; 2030*b*-2032; 2167*b*-2170*a*; 2292-2294*a*; 2601*b*-2602; 2765*b*-2767; 2891*b*-2892; 3063*b*-3066; 3078-3079; 3176*b*-3179.

Of these gnomic passages, most are heathen; some are mixed with Christian sentiments, as if the author

¹ Numbering of Heyne-Socin text, ed. L. Schücking, Paderborn, 1908.

had turned old matter to new purposes; one or two may be entirely Christian. In some cases, it is impossible to separate the two elements. A writer who had at his command a wealth of heathen lay material and who was familiar also with the teachings of Christianity designed for them no separate compartments in building his epic poem. Heathen and Christian wisdom appear now in harmony, again in slight conflict.

The first passage, an adhortation of the familiar *sceal* type, is paralleled elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon,¹ and the thought is of high antiquity:

20 Swā sceal *geong guma* gōde gewyrcean,
 fromum feoh-giftum on fæder ærne,
 þæt hine on ylde eft gewunigen
 wil-gesithas, þonne wīg cume,
 lēode gelæsten. Lof-dædum sceal
 in mægða gehwām man gepēon.

Saxo's praise of Sciold enumerates a list of deeds similar to these,² deeds the celebration of which later descended to a commonplace in chivalric romance: The prince must win to his banner good knights by his bounty. So in *Guy of Warwick*, we read:

Good knyghtis he loued ywis,
 And freely he gaue them of hys,
 Therfore wel belouyd he was.

Because the passage has no immediate connection with the context, Sievers suggested a hiatus between

¹ *Gn. C.*, 14.

² "He contended . . . with all other monarchs in courage, bounty, and generous dealing . . . He used to enrich his nobles not only with home taxes, but also with plunder taken in war; being wont to aver that the prize money should flow to the soldiers, and the glory to the general." See York Powell, p. 18; Holder, p. 12.

lines 19 and 20. Müllenhoff¹ cited it as one of the moralizing asides which break up the unity of the poem,² and remarked of it, that it is a generalization of political import. Haeuschkel,³ in commenting upon the fact that the introduction of sentences often appears awkward and forced, cites this passage as an example.

Müllenhoff, intent upon his separate ballad theory, perhaps unconsciously stretched a critical conscience to make these generalizations examples of the irrelevant; or perhaps he was momentarily forgetful of their accustomed presence in the old literature. Others, as for instance Sievers and Köhler, in looking for a unity too perfect, were unmindful of the fact that the Germanic poet often turns aside to point a moral and thereby adorn his material. Such a saying is irrelevant in the sense that it is a generalization, which, though possibly called to mind by a particular circumstance or concrete situation, yet stands alone, independent; but it is not irrelevant with respect to the large unity of the early epic, which was ample and inclusive. Digressions have many times been observed to be features of the epic style, and the irrelevancies of the Anglo-Saxons are merely instances of such episodic character.

Of the same type as 20-25, are 1535*b*-1537, and 2167*b*-2170*a*. Just as Scyld's acquitting himself well produces the generalization that so ought a young man to do, Beowulf's trusting to his strength

¹ *Die Innere Geschichte des Beowulfs*, in *Zeit. f. d. A.*, n. s., II, 195.

² A criticism, it need hardly be noted, now in disrepute.

³ *Die Technik der Erzählung im Beowulfliede*, Breslau, 1904, p. 63.

of hand in the conflict with Grendel's mother induces the observation :

1535b Swā sceal man dōan,
 þonne hē æt gūðe gegān þenceð
 longsumne lof, nā ymb his lif cearað.

and likewise the recital of Beowulf's gifts to Hygelac affords opportunity for the comment :

2167b Swā sceal mæg dōan,
 nealles inwit-net oðrum bregdon,
 dyrnum cræfte dēað rēnīan
 hond-gesteallan.

Lines similar to these have been quoted above as forming part of the Old Norse gnomology. Gnomes of this type Earle¹ characterized as "Monitory Passages," seeing in them a "clue to the secret history of the poem" which he designates as "The Institution of a Prince." He is echoed by Brandl, who calls *Beowulf* a sort of mirror for princes.² And a more recent critic sees an immediate application in this particular moralizing: "Such comment seems harsh, and the allusion to treachery uncalled for, until we notice *what* that present is which Beowulf has just given to his lord. It is a war-panoply, which of old belonged to Hrothgar's brother, King Heorogar, but which has *not* been given to Heorowearð, Heorogar's son. No: the armor has been given to Beowulf the stranger, and Heorowearð has been deprived of his father's weapons."³

¹ *The Deeds of Beowulf*, J. Earle, Oxford, 1892, p. lxxv ff.

² — "kein anderes erzählungswerk weder ein weltliches noch ein geistliches, kommt einem fürstenspiegel so nahe." — *op. cit.*, p. 1001.

³ *Widsith*, R. W. Chambers, Cambridge, 1912, p. 83.

But here and elsewhere in *Beowulf*,¹ as in the lays of the *Edda*, these asides are, I think, commonplace generalizations, though they doubtless took their special coloring from the particular time and place. That they were uttered as particular exhortations or with any thought that the princely circle needed to profit by them, I doubt. They had become conventional stop-gaps or roundings of periods. A single instance is perhaps to be regarded as a definite personal hint to Hrothgar concerning the boy, Hrethric:

1839b

Feor-cȳððe bēoð

sēlan gesōhte þām-þe him selfa dēah.

It is the close of Beowulf's leave-taking speech, wherein he has just suggested that Hrethric would find friends at the court of the Geats. I say perhaps; for I suspect, rather, that Beowulf was finishing off his invitation by the statement of a truth as well known to Hrothgar as to himself.²

Lines 183-188 may be regarded as a "terminal moral" akin to that at the end of the *Cotton Gnomes*³ and elsewhere. Such moralizings or religious adhortations bear evidence of later origin by their Christian doctrine. Ettmüller first made 179-185 the close of a *fytte*, a view in which Müllenhoff coincided, characterizing the passage as "ganz theologisch." So Blackburn, attempting to separate Christian and

¹ Cf. also *Widsith*, 11-13. sceal þeodna gehwylc þeawum lifgan,
eorl æfter oðrum eðle rædan,
sē þe his þeodenstōl geþeon wile!

² The custom of sending sons to win their spurs in foreign countries was practised long in England.

³ See p. 129.

heathen sentiment, thinks it to be an interpolation.¹ According to the opinion, however, that *Beowulf* is a unified whole, the work of a poet familiar no less with Christian than with heathen beliefs, this passage is simply to be regarded as arising out of the later time and religion. "The *Beowulf* poet was subject to various influences," Klaeber concludes in his series of excellent articles on *The Christian Elements in Beowulf*, "he was a Widsith or Saxo in legendary lore, at the same time he was an ecclesiastically educated man, a sensitive character, and an incomparable artist among the Anglo-Saxons."²

In lines 440b-441 a Christian gnome is apparent. "He whom death taketh shall resign himself to the doom of the Lord" seems quite modern. But I believe with Gummere³ that the old "goes Wyrd as she must" is in the background, — a thought which appears almost immediately in 455b. Moreover, Blackburn groups the saying with other passages that show Christian coloring by "incidental allusions to God and his power."⁴ These mixed gnomes are: 440b-441, 930-931, 1056 ff., 1661 ff., 2292-2294a. He makes out a case for transference from heathen to Christian thought on the ground that Christianity is vague and colorless in these passages, as will be seen if we substitute Fate for God. "The moral sentiment remains, but it is no longer a Christian sentiment. . . . We

¹ *PMLA.*, XII, 22.

² *Anglia*, XXXV(n. f. XXIII), pp. 111 ff., 249 ff., 453 ff., and XXXVI, pp. 171 ff. *Die Christlichen Elemente im Beowulf*. See these pages, *passim*, for comparison of sundry gnomic passages with similar ones in *Beowulf*.

³ *OEE.*, p. 42.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 210 ff.

may assume the existence of an older poem composed by a heathen scop and containing moral sentiments and reflections of the same character as those of Homer or Virgil or the Edda. Later, a Christian monk 'edits' it for Christian readers."¹ The value of this classification is not affected by the point of view that regards the passages as the work of a poet subject alike to Christian and heathen influence. That is to say, the "mixed" character remains, whether original heathen sayings have been "edited" or the lines were composed by a poet to whom God was Lord of fate.² Haeusckel is also of the opinion that 930-931, 1664*b*-1665*a*, 3056, and the inevitable 183*b*-188 are of Christian character.³

I see only a Christian sentiment in 931*b*-932:—

ǣ mæg god wyrcean
wunder æfter wundre, wuldres hyrde!

Fate does not work wonders, nor is *wuldres hyrde* a heathen figure. The case, however, is different with 1058-1063, where the parts may be separated:

1058*b*-1059 Metod eallum wēold
gumena cynnes, swā hē nū gīt dōeð,

is Christian. But 1060-1061*a* is a thought occurring in heathen passages: ⁴

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

² Cf. Klaeber, "Vorherrschend christlich ist überhaupt . . . die ganze tonart und sittenanschauung. Wir sind nicht mehr in heidnischer atmosphäre." — *Op. cit.*, XXXVI, 175.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁴ Cf. *Hǫvumǫl*, stanza 6, and *passim*, and *Wanderer*, 11*b*-14. It is similar also to a sentence in *Maxims* (Exeter Book, 122*a*), hyge fæste bind mid modsefan (*Bib.*, II, 280), which, though occurring in a small group of Christian sayings, has a heathen ring.

Forþan bið andgit æghwær sēlest,
ferhðes fore-þanc.

And it may very well have been retained from an older portion, which, however, suffered the addition of 1058-1059. 1061b-1063 may itself be of ancient origin, like the "Manifold are the woes of men" sentences referred to above; but it rings rather like a late homiletic close:

Fela sceal gebīdan
lēofes ond lāðes, sē þe longe hēr
on þyssum win-dagum worolde brūceð.

Earle¹ holds that the passage was formerly heathen but was corrected by *witig god* (1057). He sees Providence and fate not opposed, but harmonized by subordination of the latter, and recognizes a mind fed upon *De Consolatione*, IV, 6 ff.²

1664b-1665a oftost wīsoðe
winigea lēasum

is part of a Christian thought, referring as it does to *ylða waldend* in 1662. I cannot accept it as "mixed"; for the substitution of fate is inapt (cf. 931, above). Bugge³ emends the line unnecessarily by a textual change which makes it particular instead of general.

2292-2294a Swā mæg unfæge ēaðe gedigan
wēan ond wræc-sið, sē þe waldendes
hyldo gehealdeð

seems to be a distinct Christianizing of the heathen expression found in 572b-573:

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

² Cf. Klaeber, *op. cit.*, XXXVI, 175.

³ Quoted by Schücking, *op. cit.*, p. 115, q.v.

Wyrd oft nereð
Unfægne eorl, þonne his ellen deāh!

a Germanic commonplace¹ spoken by Beowulf in recounting his swimming match with Breca, a prototype of the more modern "God helps those that help themselves." Cook² thinks its origin lies in the Latin original of "Fortune favors the brave." But since the passage occurs in part in the *Hildebrand Lay* (l. 55) and occasionally in Old Norse,³ I see no reason for seeking origins outside the Germanic group, even though among the next of kin. It is rather, I think, analogic, — one of a number of kindred thoughts arising among tribes widely separated. In its juxtaposition of fate and courage, the passage is paralleled in 1056 ff.

The limitations of Fate in 455*b*, "Gæð ā Wyrd swā hīo scel!" would appear to be somewhat in contrast with the idea that she may favor a brave man. But Wyrd is thought of as two different forces or powers in the two passages 455*b* and 572 ff., which may be taken as exemplars of the fact that conceptions of Fate were not consistent.⁴ In the former her blindness is emphasized, Fate bound by necessity; in the

¹ Grundtvig says the leading idea of the *Bjarkemål* is the same as that found in *Beowulf*, 455, 572. *Udsigt*, p. 52, referred to by Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 456, who remarks: "—diese erkenntnis ist der eigentliche grundstein aller erkenntnis des volks überall gewesen. Wie Guðrún spricht, 'skopum viðr manngi,' so sagt Hektor: '[Μοῖραν δ'οὐ'τινά φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν.]'" (*Il.*, 6, 488.) Cf. also *Germanic Origins*, p. 236 ff.

² *MLN.*, VIII, 117–118, *q.v.*, for list of citations from Latin classics. *Andreas* 458–460 is a Christianized form, also, of *Beowulf* 572.

³ Cf. *OEE.*, pp. 47–48, note.

⁴ Cf. Klaeber, *op. cit.*, XXXVI, 172, and note. He notes that in *Beowulf*, 3031, *wyrda nē worda*, the significance of *wyrd* is "ganz abgeschwächt."

both Greek and Teutonic, is the constantly expressed thirst for fame. Odysseus himself says his glory reaches to heaven, and Beowulf's fame is spoken of even more extravagantly, as lines 856 ff. indicate. The love of glory is held as an incitement to bravery in critical situations, as in *Waldere*, I, 8 ff.¹

The remaining expressions deserve here no particular comment. They are, I believe, without exception of heathen origin.² In making this statement, I am not unmindful of the truth that, in general, it is difficult, if not useless, to attempt separation of heathen and Christian streams contributing to the current of early Anglo-Saxon epic.³ In some cases, as I have already said, it is impossible to affirm that a maxim is Teutonic or that it is scriptural. But in other cases, it is impossible to avoid seeing indications of definite source.

In reviewing the characteristics of these passages aside from their heathen or Christian nature, we find that they may be tabulated in content approximately as follows:⁴

1. They encourage laudable deeds: 20-25, 1385b-1390, 1535b-1537, 1839b-1840, 2030b-2032, 2891b-2892;

2. Liberality: 20-25;

¹ Cf. *Heroic Age*, p. 325 ff.

² 2891b-2892 Meyer thinks is a proverb, — "eine uralte lehre." — *Op. cit.*, p. 456. And Klaeber notes its resemblance to a passage in *Iphigenia Aulidis* (1252) of Euripides. — *Op. cit.*, XXXVI, 173.

³ "The futility of attempting to separate Christian and heathen conceptions in that poem [Beowulf] is now well recognized, Professor Brandl having been one of the foremost to adopt that view." — W. W. Lawrence, *The Song of Deor*, in *M. Ph.*, IX, 1, 27.

⁴ Cf. Sarrazin, *Beowulf-Studien*, Berlin, 1888, p. 76 ff., whom I follow in part. His list, however, is not so full as the one here given. Haenschel, *op. cit.*, p. 63, practically copies Sarrazin.

3. Prudence, wisdom: 287*b*–289, 1060–1061*a*;
4. Confidence in God or Fate: 440*b*–441, 572*b*–573, 931*b*–932, 1058*b* ff., 1664*b*–1665*a*, 2292–2294*a*.
5. They warn against treachery of women: 1941*b*–1944;
6. Treachery of kindred: 2167*b*–2170*a* (cf. 2601*b*–2602).
7. They commemorate inevitable death: 183*b*–188, 1003*b*–1004, 1385*b*–1390, 2891*b*–2892, 3063*b*–3066, 3176*b*–3179.

Classified with reference to the speakers, the following reflections are uttered by the poet, as he turns aside from the main channel of his narrative: 20–25, 183*b*–188, 1003*b*–1004, 1058*b*–1063, 1535*b*–1537, 1941*b*–1944, 2167*b*–2170*a*, 2601*b*–2602, 2765*b*–2767,¹ 3063*b*–3066, 3176*b* ff. The following are spoken by Beowulf: 455, 572*b*–573, 1385*b*–1390, 1664*b*–1665*a*, 1839*b*–1840, 2030*b*–2032. From the shore-guard, proceeds 287*b*–289; from Wiglaf, 2891*b*–2892, 3078–3079. It is noticeable that until Beowulf's death, only one gnome is put into the mouth of any other character.² After the hero's death, Wiglaf succeeds him as speaker of wise sayings.

Of these speeches, the oldest are characterized by "oft" or "selre."³ "Sceal" is more didactic, like-wise "mæg"; often the mere statement lodged in "bið" etc., takes the place of the hortatory form. Combinations occur: "swā sceal," "swā bið." Under one of these heads fall the greater number of *Beowulf* gnomes.⁴

As in the epic, so in the early lyrics, gnomes and

¹ Haeuschkel, who makes a single division, *op. cit.*, p. 62, errs in placing 2765 under the alternate head. He omits 3176 ff.

² 931*b*–932, said by Hrothgar.

³ Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

⁴ I do not take up 1725 ff., nor 2445 ff., for both, though akin to the passages treated, are of different character.

gnomic sayings are imbedded. And just as in the epic their presence has been taken to uphold the argument for separate composition, so in the lyrics they are regarded by some critics as intruders, interpolations by those convenient "later scribes."

The *Wanderer*¹ shows vigorous sententious proclivity. Although the introduction is recognized as Christian, it breaks off at 5*a*, following which 5*b* is unquestionably heathen: "Wyrð bið ful āræd!"² And though the close 112*a*–115 is a late homiletic addition (cf. *Gn. C.* conclusion, p. 129), the poem throughout is imbued with pagan sentiment.

11*b*–18 comprise a group of gnomes, all arising from the *Wanderer*'s contemplation of his own position, but universal in their bearing. 11*b*–14 commend caution in betraying thought,

Ic tō sōðe wāt,
 þæt bið on eorle indryhten þēaw,
 þæt hē his ferðlocan fæste binde,

a sentiment, which though lacking parallelism of expression, is of the same type as *Beowulf*, 1060–1061*a*. 15 and 16 are grammatically joined, but in reality comprise two sentences:

ne mæg wērig mōð wyrðe wiðstondan
 ne se hrēo hyge helpe gefremman.

The first of these offers a variation of *Beowulf*, 572. The second is a thought not found elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon gnomology.

17–18 forþon dōmgeorne drēorigne oft
 in hyra brēostcōfan bindað fæste

¹ *Bib.*, I, 284.

² On *āræd*, cf. *Gn. Ex.*, 193, note.

is likewise a thought which has found expression more often in later literature than in Anglo-Saxon verse. The next generalization is of a familiar kind,¹ 29b-31:

Wāt sē þe cunnað
hū sliðen bið sorg tō gefēran
þām þe him lyt hafað lēofra geholena.

64-65a echoes the proverb already observed in the Old Norse *Hambésmól*:

forþon ne mæg weorðan wīs wer, ær hē āge
wintra dæl in woruldrīce.

In 65b-69, we have a series of attributes belonging to the wise man, wherein moderation is discernible as the happy mean:

Wita sceal gepyldig,
ne sceal nō tō hātheort ne tō hrædwyrde
ne tō wāc wīga ne tō wanhȳdig
ne tō forht ne tō fægen ne tō feohgifre
ne nǣfre gielpes tō georn, ær hē geare cunne.²

The caution against boasting is continued in 70-72:

Beorn sceal gebīdan, þonne hē beot spriceð
oð þæt collenferð cunne gearwe,
hwider hreðra gehygd hweorfan wille.

And the passage on the wise man is concluded with 73-74, which suggest that he can understand how terrible will be the destruction of the world. It is to be observed that the Day of Judgment is referred to in no churchly manner: if the lines were the work

¹ The essentially early tone of such sentences is noted in introduction to *Gn. Ex.* See p. 94.

² King Cormac gives similar advice to Carbre; cf. K. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

of an interpolator, he would hardly have missed the opportunity to celebrate it in true orthodox fashion.

Of the gnomes in 58-87, Boer¹ observes a close relationship with the *Exeter Gnomes*. Boer's reasons for assuming interpolation of the entire passage are weak. There is no occasion for considering them here, since they have already been answered by Lawrence,² and since, moreover, the full passage lies outside the scope of this study. Lawrence in meeting Boer's contention that the "sprüche" disturb the narrative says:³ "Consider the pronounced fondness of the Saxons for moralizing and for gnostic material in general. This was not a literary fashion introduced with Christianity, its roots lie deep in heathen antiquity. The gnostic poetry of other peoples is as a rule of ancient date. It was characteristic of Anglo-Saxon thought to connect the particular and the general, to make a man's experiences point a moral as well as adorn a tale. The Saxon in misfortune found consolation in philosophy long before King Alfred translated Boethius. Deor's refrain *þæs oferēode, þisses swā mæg!* is of a piece with the Wanderer's conclusions on reviewing the fates of men. The reflective mood which leads to moralizing is closely akin to the elegiac spirit. Modern poetry is full of instances of it. The amount of Anglo-Saxon verse distinctly heathen in character is relatively small, and citations from it are likely to be questioned as later additions. This applies to the many passages in *Bēowulf* containing moral reflections, and the

¹ *Zft. f. d. Phil.*, XXXV, 11.

² *JEG. Ph.*, IV, 460 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 477.

blighting hand of higher criticism has been laid even on *Wīdsið* and *Dēor*. It will be noted, however, that the lyric cry of the banished wife in the *Wife's Complaint* is interrupted at its height by reflections on the virtues befitting a youth, while it closes with a general maxim deduced from the sad experiences of the once happy couple. The mere presence of moralizing in a poem cannot be said to indicate interpolation."

The *ubi sunt* motive in 92-93 is in the gnomic mood, and if converted to declarative expression would be gnomic in form:

Hwær cwom mearg? hwær cwom mago? hwær cwom
maððumgyfa?

hwær cwom symbla gesetu? hwær sindon seledrēamas?

But difficulty lies in finding an equivalent assertion that will retain the feeling and force of the interrogative couplet. Beside the question, "Where are the snows of yesteryear?" the affirmation, "No one knows where the snows of yesteryear are," becomes far less vivid. And so in these lines from the *Wanderer*, emphasis and sententiousness are gained by the form, a form which might be characterized as the interrogative gnome. The *ubi sunt* motivation is an old one, perhaps of equal age with riddle, charm, and spell.¹

100b reverts to the omnipotence of fate: "Wyrð sēo mære,"² the commonplace observed elsewhere throughout this work. The thought is contained in the fine line 107: "onwendeð wyrða gesceaft weorold

¹ Cf. *MLN.*, VIII, 187-188, for parallels to the lines above quoted.

² Gollancz is wrong in translating, "Theirs was a glorious fate." Cf. *E. E. T. S.*, CIV, 293.

under heofenum," which is less commonplace and has the same heathen tone.

106: "Eall is earfoðlic eorþan rīce," is the Anglo-Saxon equivalent for the sentence quoted above from *Sigrdrifomǫl* (p. 26). *Beowulf*, 1061b-1063, has also a kinship with it. It might seem to reveal a tendency of our ancestors to complain at hard times and conditions, even as their descendants do to-day; but it also suggests the disturbed political situation in Britain of the eighth century, conditions which probably gave fresh meaning to many outworn phrases.

108-110 are interesting from their combination into priamel form :

hēr bið feoh lāne, hēr bið frēond lāne,
hēr bið mon lāne, her bið mæg lāne,
eal pis eorðan gesteal īdel weorðeð!

Each of the five gnomes is prosaic enough in expression, but taken together they show conscious elaboration not dissimilar to that employed in the Cotton collection.

112a is of a type often found: ¹ "Til bið sē þe his trēowe gehealdeð." It is a kind usually found in passages suspiciously Christian, and because of that coincidence, as well as the fact that line 111 of the *Wanderer* seems to close the poem, I believe it to be part of the homiletic addition.

112b-114a ne sceal nāfre his torn tō rycene
beorn of his brēostum acȳðan, nemðe hē ær pā bōte cunne
eorl mid elne gefremman!

should be compared with 11b ff.

¹ Cf. *Gn. Ex.*, 35, and note.

From so long a list in a poem numbering but 115 lines, it will be noticed by a mere hazard of addition and subtraction that the amount of sententious material is sufficient to justify naming the poem a gnomic lyric. The strain throughout is one of sad contemplation and reflection, which though personal in its origin is easily diverted into the general. As an elegiac composition, moreover, the poem is not seriously interrupted by the frequent development of a moral: it is logically all of a piece.

“Sceal,” “oft,” “mæg,” and “bið” appear as catchwords of the gnomic expressions which are, in content, distinct from those of the epic, pealing forth the jubilant note of courage, incitation to brave deeds; but which are similar to those epic counsels exhorting to fidelity, prudence, wisdom, and the like. Fate weighs even more heavily than in *Beowulf*, as might be expected in a poem dealing with the woes of the friendless man.

In *Beowulf* and the *Wanderer*, we find — exclusive of the passage in *Byrhtnoth* — the best of the old speeches which are preserved in epic and lyric verse. Henceforth, Christianity either modifies the old or supplies their places by another variety.

In calling attention to the gnomic passages in the *Seafarer*,¹ it will be necessary to say a word or two about the unity of the poem. The main divisions generally recognized are 1-64*a* and 64*b*-124;² but Thorpe observed the change in matter and manner from 103 to the close, and Lawrence suggests that not enough

¹ *Bib.*, I, 290.

² Cf. Kluge, *Eng. St.*, VI, 322 ff.; Boer, *op. cit.*; Lawrence, *op. cit.*

attention has been paid to this line of demarcation.¹ In 1-64*a*, the critics usually see the lyric proper; in 64*b*-124, material more or less didactic and sufficiently separated from part I to deserve a distinct caption. Now, there seems to be no essential reason for drawing the line at 64*a*. Up to this point, it is true, the main thesis has been the sea, — its fascination, its hardships. It is likewise true that from 64*b* forward the sea passes into the background and the elegiac strain is prominent in a vein of moralizing more or less tedious. But before 103, I see no definite boundaries; the personal leads gradually to the impersonal, the particular merges into the general, the theme of the sea is changed into didactic commonplaces about the universe. The first part is nobler; it rings of remote times. Though the whole poem is elegiac, passing gradually from heathen into Christian thought, no definitely gnostic verses are found before 103. The single exception, apparently a later version of *Beowulf*, 1385 ff., I have mentioned above. Now, after 117, the first line of the homiletic close, the matter is practically all gnostic:

103: Micel biþ sē meotudes egsa, forþon hī sēo molde oncyrrēð,
and

116: Meotud meahtigra þonne ænges monnes gehygd,
are similar to *Gn. C.*, 4*b*. 115*b*: "Wyrð bið swiðre" is a parallel of *Gn. C.*, 5*a*; moreover, by its juxtaposition with 116 shows the identical relation that *Gn. C.*, 5*a* bears to 4*b*. Parallels of 106, 107, and 109 are found in the *Exeter Gnomes* (*q. v.*). Lines 111-112 preach the ancient virtue of moderation:

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 471.

Scyle monna gehwylc mid gemete healdan
wip lēofne and wip lāpne . . .

In lines 103–117 the style is markedly different, being rough and inferior in prosody. The homiletic close shows the usual insipid commonplaces. Though its integrity has been broken by a later poet, I believe the *Seafarer* is a unit to line 103. This line is the first on folio 83a, a folio which is probably out of order. In this event, the gnomes which make up a considerable part of the *Seafarer* close perhaps originally occurred in a separate gnomic collection.

Two other passages in the older lyric poems deserve brief notice. The first of these is found in *The Banished Wife's Lament*, 42–47a:¹

Ā scyle geong mon wesan gēomormōd,
heard heortan gepōht, swylce habban sceal
blīpe gebæro, ēac þon brēostceare
sinsorgna gedreag: sȳ æt him sylfum gelong
eal his worulde wyn, sȳ ful wīde fah
feorres folclondes . . .

respecting which two opinions have been advanced.² One side (Grein, Roeder, Imelmann) sees in these lines an imprecation against a young man who has caused separation of the wife and husband; the other side perceives a more or less abstract moralizing concerning particular characters, but members of this side are not in agreement upon these characters. Schücking thinks the speaker is meant; S. A. Brooke, the husband. Lawrence alone thinks the expression is general, sug-

¹ *Klage der Frau*, *Bib.*, I, 302.

² For summary of these opposing views, see article by S. Stefanović, *Anglia*, XXXII, 415.

gested, as usual in Anglo-Saxon poems which turn from particular to general, by the man the lady has in mind — her husband. She reverts to him again openly in 47*b*. "Ever ought a young man to be serious of mind, steadfast the thoughts of his heart, (he should have) a pleasant demeanor as well, also care, the weight of constant anxiety."¹

Having read all extant Anglo-Saxon poetry with reference to catching the tone of gnomic utterance, as well as recognizing its form, I cannot here admit other than a general interpretation. The signs are significant: the *Ā scyle* formula with its consequent material is the same as that found in *Beowulf* and the *Edda*, where universal truths are uttered, suggested by the immediate circumstance, but unquestionably free from it. Moreover, the idea is hardly in keeping with an ancient Germanic curse. On the other hand, as is consistent with Teutonic ideals, a young man should recognize the seriousness of life (Manifold are the woes of men!), at the same time bear a steadfast heart and pleasant demeanor to meet it. As Lawrence further observes: "— the condition of the world, the transitory character of human things, dwelt upon by the Wanderer and the Seafarer, go to make a man's disposition sober," and he cites the *Wise Father's Instruction*, 54–56, and the *Wanderer*, 58 ff. According to the ideals of a race which preached moderation — if not always practising it — this saying from *The Banished Wife's Lament* would be no malediction but an exhortation. Furthermore, Celtic literature affords a passage wherein the proper qualities of a chief are

¹ W. W. Lawrence, *The Banished Wife's Lament*, in *M. Ph.*, V, 387.

enumerated at length, among which we find a similar combination: "Let him be sober . . . let him be affable."¹ This, I think, serves to reveal more strongly the general gnomic character of the lines from *The Banished Wife's Lament*.

*The Song of Deor*² is unique in Anglo-Saxon literature in its employment of a refrain, and is of special interest here since that refrain is gnomic. *pæs oferēode, þisses swā mæg!* has been usually translated as having distinct references to the fortunes of Deor: That he surmounted: so this may I! But Lawrence maintains³ that the thought is general. "There is no way of telling that he [Deor] may not have had present woes of his own in mind when he says *þisses swā mæg!* but there is nothing to indicate it, and ll. 28 ff. are certainly general rather than personal." He thinks the poem is "not a complaint, but a consolation." As the troubles of Wayland, Beadohild, and others passed, so may the sufferings of the sorrowful one in line 28. The refrain then, is "cheerful and practical" philosophy, vivid in comparison with the commonplaces of the Wanderer and the Seafarer. Old troubles have passed and present ones may! "The whole piece seems most easily interpreted as a general poem of consolation, applicable to anyone in present trouble."⁴

The generalizing passage 31-34 is part of what may be an interpolation:

¹ "rop sobraig . . . rop soacollmach." — K. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

² *Des Sängers Trost*, *Bib.*, 1, 278 ff.

³ *The Song of Deor*, in *M. Ph.*, IX, 1, 23 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

Mæg þonne geþencan, þæt geond þās woruld
 wītig dryhten wendeþ geneahhe,
 eorle monegum āre gescēawað,
 wislicene blæd, sumum wēana dæl.

In favor of late insertion are *wītig dryhten*, the fact that the dramatic lyric plan is broken up, and that the tone is hardly that of a writer "who had taken Deor's own tonic." Moreover, the lines are "awkward in syntax, and muddy in thought, and their philosophy is not quite that of the refrain, although not contrary to it."¹ Further, gnomic passages on the fortunes or fates of men occur largely in later poems, seemingly Christian. Against late addition are the facts that *wītig dryhten* may be a single substitution in a heathen passage for *Wyrd* and a corresponding modifier, that departure from the dramatic lyric plan may arise, as we have seen, naturally from the elegiac mood, and that the *sum* type of sententious expression, though found more abundantly in later Anglo-Saxon poetry, is yet found in the Eddic poems where there is no indication of late origin.² Although the moralizing passage is a trifle forced, yet its content is not inharmonious with the lyric scheme: So any man sitting sorrowful, severed from joys, may reflect that the fortunes of men are diverse, and that while one has wealth, another has woe: let him surmount his misery! On the whole, it is difficult to say whether the lines are

¹ Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

² Cf. *Hóvamǫl*, stanza 69:

sumr es af sunom sáll,
 sumr af frændom, sumr af fé órno,
 sumr af verkom vel.

— S.-G., I, 35.

and *Hyndloljóð*, above, p. 23.

or are not interpolated ; but it is easy to agree with Lawrence that they are "really quite in accord with its structure, making plainer its message."¹

The poem which Thorpe entitled *On the Endowments and Pursuits of Men*, and which has been variously named *Gifts of Men*, *Bi Monna Cræftum*, *Der Menschen Gaben*,² belongs to the early Christian period. Lines 1–29 are obviously the composition of a monk, as are also 103–113, the homiletic close, besides 86–95 in the heart of the poem. The remainder have a heathen ring ; they have at best no reference to tokens and symbols of Christianity, but celebrate harp-playing, seamanship, smithcraft, and the like. One example will suffice to illustrate their gnostic character.

49 Sum mid hondum mæg hearpan grētan,
 āh hē glēobēames gearobrygda list.
 Sum bið rynig, sum ryht-scytte,
 sum lēoða glēaw, sum on londe snel,
 fēðe spēdig.

The origin of the poem was pointed out by Dietrich³ as Christian, having its sources and analogues in 1 *Corinthians*, xii, 8–10, Gregory's 29th Homily on the *Book of Job*, and *Christ*, 659–690.

But it may be objected that too many of these *sum* gnomes both here and in the *Fates of Men* and in the passage from *Christ* deflect the current of ideas away from Christianity. A dilemma arises, therefore : did a monkish redactor prefix his beginning and add his conclusion to a gnostic poem of heathen origin ? Or did he compose the whole poem, extending the *sum* type which he knew from Christian sources ? It

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

² *Bib.*, 3¹, 140.

³ *Cf. Grund.*, 197.

may as well be remarked at once, if the latter alternative be favored, that in the case of the *Christ* passage one meets with a similar difficulty, hence the question has only been shifted. That is to say, the list in *Christ* 659-690 contains also wordly pursuits as well as spiritual gifts:¹ the Christian lines may have received addition, or the entire passage may be an interpolation.

Gnomes of a similar type or class are seldom found grouped in extended series, either in North Germanic or West Germanic literature. *Hávamöl* shows repetition but not extension. The *Cotton Gnomes* show an apparent prolongation, but the colorless *sceal* is the constant element. In both the *Edda* and in Anglo-Saxon, diversity, total absence of unity, mark the collections. The *sum* gnome, moreover, is not prevalent in early Germanic literature. On the other hand, extended gnomic groups of the same class are often found in Eastern sources. Consider the allotment of time in *Ecclesiastes*, iii, 2-8; the list of those who are blessed, *Matthew*, v, 3-11; consider the various lists in *Ecclesiasticus*:² be ashamed before thy father and mother of (a fault named) and before (repeated for different personages), then be ashamed of (a number of other faults listed). Antithetically, then follows a list of things one need not

¹ Wülker thinks Cynewulf had a heathen poem before him when he wrote the *Christ* passage, but not the *Endowments and Pursuits of Men*, which he regards as later (in its present form) than the work of Cynewulf. But he thinks that both poems have a common origin in some heathen poem. — *Grund.*, p. 198.

² Cf. *The Hebrew Text of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus)*, with Translation and Critical Notes, C. A. McRae, University of Toronto, 1910.

be ashamed of. That condensation is present does not alter the fact that a series of counsels is given; any counsel may be removed from the context by supplying before the particular fault, the common term, "Be ashamed of."

With direct reference to the *sum* type, which occurs with repetition in *Corinthians*,¹ we may observe that it was present in Sanscrit:² "One of them [fore-runners of the sententious poetry which flourished so luxuriantly in Sanscrit literature] consisting only of four stanzas (IX, 112) describes in a moralizing strain of mild humor how men follow after gain in various ways:

The thoughts of men are manifold,
Their callings are of diverse kinds:
The carpenter desires a rift,
The leech a fracture wants to cure.

A poet I: my dad's a leech;
Mama the upper millstone grinds:
With various minds we strive for wealth,
As ever seeking after kine."

Another of these poems is in praise of wise speech (X, 71). Here is one of the stanzas:

The one sits putting forth rich bloom of verses,
Another sings a song in skilful numbers,
A third as teacher states the laws of being,
A fourth metes out the sacrifice's measure.

¹ "For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues." — *Loc. cit.*

² *History of Sanscrit Literature*, A. A. McDonell, New York, 1900, p. 128.

The Greek poets also exhibit numerous instances of this type.¹ A close parallel to the Anglo-Saxon passages in the poems under consideration is found in *Iliad*, 13, 726-734, which has been translated, "For to one man has God given for his portion the works of war, to another the dance, to another the lute and song, but in the heart of yet another hath far-seeing Zeus placed an excellent understanding."

Though it is generally conceded that the influence of Greece on Anglo-Saxon literature was slight and superficial, yet partiality for the study of Greek is indicated in a curious enumeration of different national characteristics: "Sapientia Græcorum — superbia Romanorum," etc.² Nor is Theodore to be forgotten, the Greek priest who was sent into England by Pope Vitalian in 688, and who took with him authors in Latin and his own tongue.³ *Andreas* and *Elene* further bear witness to the fact that Anglo-Saxon poets frequently drew upon Greek sources.

With the Eastern books of wisdom, at least those of the Scriptures, Anglo-Saxon priests were familiar. They also knew Boethius and Gregory. A homily of the latter has been referred to as a possible source of these *sum* gnomes, and Brandl suggests a parallelism between *Met.*, II, 8⁸, with their introduction and conclusion.⁴ Although Brandl's observation does not apply to the type of gnome, it does, I think, add

¹ Cf. list given by Cook, *Christ*, pp. 136-137.

² Caligula A XV, fol. 122, v. Cf. Wright in *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, II, 43, note.

³ Cf. Bede, *HE.*, IV, 1 and 2. Bede adds that the pupils of Adrian and Theodore were well trained both in Greek and Latin. See further, V. 21.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 1036.

weight to my point that the poem was put together by one who knew the Southern and Eastern literatures. It is not, I believe, an old heathen poem redacted, but one written entire by a learned monk, who was not so lost in his bookish Christianity that he had not sufficient appreciation of secular gifts to include them with the spiritual.

Against long descent from Teutonic heathendom is the further fact that lower forms of nature are absent; man alone is present. In a poem thus extended, an older writer would have departed in all probability from so monotonous a series.

On the Various Fortunes of Men, otherwise *Fates of Men*, *Bi Monna Wyrdum*, *Der Menschen Geschicke*,¹ Rieger thought to be by the author of the *Gifts*.² In broad analysis it is similar in composition: 1-14 and 93-98, introduction and conclusion, are Christian, as are also 58, 64-66. The remainder show no definite Christian reference. In its subject matter, however, the poem rings older than the one just considered; in striking the note of hunger, war, and wolf (the miseries of men, again) it recalls certain lines in the *Gnomic Verses*. And it is marked by the old *sceal* formula as well as by the *sum*.

33 Sum sceal on geapum galgan rīdan,
 Seomian æt swylte, oð þæt sǣwlhord
 bāncōfa blōdig abrocen weorðeð,
 þær him hrefn nimeð hēafodsýne, etc.

Brandl³ thinks the poem composed of a first and a second part, the latter being a Christian continuation

¹ *Bib.* 31, 148.

² Cf. *Grund.*, p. 199.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 1036-1037.

of a heathen fragment. But there are, then, fourteen lines of the introduction to be accounted for. I think the question of authorship is to be answered as was that concerning the authorship of the *Gifts*. I believe the Christian author had in mind, either from tradition or from heathen literature, a number of examples illustrating various fates: these he summarized in brief form, using the *sum* type, itself familiar to the clerical brotherhood from the instances cited above as possible sources of the *Gifts*, or from similar instances. The fact that *sceal* rings of the old fatalistic gnostic utterance does not argue necessarily for ancient heathen origin. *Wyrd* here has the force of destiny, and though *sceal* is also associated with *wyrd* in the sense of blind fate, it is no more significant here than the *mæg* of the *Gift* gnomes.

The *Monitory Poem*, known also as *Bi Monna Mode*, *Minds of Men*, and *Der Menschen Gemüt*,¹ is a poetical sermon on pride. It shows a faint reminiscence of the *sum* type of gnome² and thus indicates the preference clerical writers had for the type.

A fourth poem on the *Falseness of Men*,³ from this title and the others it has acquired,⁴ would apparently contain gnostic material similar to that in the first two poems of this group. It is, however, as Wülker indicates by his designation of it, merely a fragment of a homily based on the twenty-eighth Psalm, and it has scarcely a vestige of gnostic expression left in its desultory didacticism. In this, and in the *Moni-*

¹ *Bið.*, 31, 144.

² Cf. 21-25, 31 ff.

³ *Bið.*, 2, 108.

⁴ *Bi Monna Lease*, *Der Menschen Falscheit*, *Predigtbruchstück über Psalm 28*.

tory Poem, crisp heathen teaching, definite precepts of morality, brief bits of philosophy, — all have lengthened into a homiletic dullness. The ancient current leaped and dashed in sudden vigorous bursts; the later stream dissipates its energy in the shallow flats of homily, level and monotonous.

The *Wise Father's Instruction*, likewise, is didactic and leads into a circle of mediæval poetry, for which the *Disticha* of Cato as well as Oriental writings yield much material.¹ Precepts are numbered, as are the counsels of Sigdrifa, or certain sayings in *Hóvamól*; ² but the matter is not closely related. As a prototype, the decalogue might as well be suggested. In other words, mere numbering offers small hint of source, and the matter is imbued from beginning to end with Christian doctrine. This form of didactic poetry occurs in most literatures and among all peoples. One turns to Bohemian literature and finds in the middle of the fourteenth century *The Advice of a Father* (Smil) to his son; ³ one passes to Celtic literature and meets it as early as the ninth century in *The Instructions of King Cormac Mac Airt*; one observes a similar framework in Old Norse. But further back yet it is found in Ancient Egypt and China.⁴ The points noteworthy

¹ *Bib.*, 1, 353. Other titles: *A Father's Advice*, *Fæder Larcvidas*, *Des Vaters Lehren*. This subject has not been investigated to any great extent. Rudolf Fischer has written a small brochure, *How the Wyse Man Taught his Sone*. It consists largely of quotations, most of which are comparatively modern.

² Latter part. Cf. stanzas 146 ff. — S.-G., I, 50.

³ Cf. *A History of Bohemian Literature*, Francis Count Luetzow, New York, 1899, p. 36 ff.

⁴ See above, p. 9.

with reference to this Anglo-Saxon collection are that expression has passed beyond gnomic bounds, and that the poem shows itself to be of late origin. Such instructions as the following are distinctly Christian: honor thy father and thy mother, respect thy teachers, countenance no wickedness, be no accomplice in sin. As these teachings are not inconsistent with heathen ideals, so echoes of heathen morality are not inharmonious with Christian standards. Out of Germanic wisdom appear such precepts as these: "Do not deceive a dear friend," "Distinguish between good and evil," "Think not aloud," "Be temperate and sagacious."

From the nature of moralizings contained in a poem, one may draw conclusions respecting their age. The truth of this statement can be illustrated by examples the time of whose composition is approximately known. Let us look briefly at the Cædmonian poetry, observing the difference in its ethical digressions and those in the older epic and lyric. We meet with an excellent example in *Exodus*:¹

531b

pis læne drēam

wommum awyrgeð, wreccum alýfed,

earmra anbīd: ēðellēase

þysne gystsele gihðum healdað

murnað on mōde, mānhūs witon

fæst under foldan, þær bið fȳr and wȳrm,

open ēce scræf yfela gehwylces.

Swā nū regnþeofas rice dælað

yldo oððe ærdēað, eft wyrd cymð

mægenþrymma mæst ofer middangeard,

dæg dædum fāh: dryhten sylfa

on þām meðelstede manegum dēmeð.

¹ Bib., 2, 445 ff. <

It will be seen that part of these ideals are common to heathen and to Christian ethics: (1) This life is a transient joy, and (2) It is filled with misery. But the house of the wicked beneath the earth, and the Day of Judgment separate the passage from the older gnomic vein. Heathen sententiousness spins itself out into a typically Christian homiletic thread.

In *Daniel*¹ 20b-21, though the form is ancient, the idea is late:

Swā nō man scyle
his gāstes lufan wið gode dālan.

This hortatory expression, of the familiar *swā scyle* type, is brief enough to satisfy requirements of gnomic definition; but its eminently Christian content prevents accepting it as a perpetuation of heathen precept.

Likewise the *oft* type appears, but as in the example just quoted it is ancient only in its detached generalization.

590 oft metod alæt monige ðeode
 . . . wyrcean, þonne hie woldon sylfe
 fyrene fæstan, ær him fæar godes
 þurh egesan gryre aldre gescēode.

As in the heathen epic, so in the Christian narrative poem, a generalization often sums up the details of a particular case. Such gnomic summarizing, though not necessarily theological, is not therefore to be regarded as heathen, any more than gnomic deductions in these same heathen epics are, because they are apart from the concrete, to be regarded as Christian interpolations. Consider an instance from *Genesis*,² 634 ff.:

¹ *Bib.*, 2, 476.

² *Ibid.*, 2, 318 ff.

Taking heed was enjoined by the earlier Germans, but hardly with the penalty for heedlessness suggested in these lines:

1599

Frēcne mē þinceð

þæt þās gæstberend gīman nellað

men on mōde þonne man hwæt

him sē waldend tō wrace gesette

lāpum lēodum.

“Be good, or you will be punished,” is typical of early Christian doctrine.

The long passage 659–690 has been mentioned in connection with *Gifts of Men* and *Fates of Men*. It is gnomic in a similar degree. On its occurrence in this poem much has been said; but whether it is part of the original or whether it is an interpolation probably never can be satisfactorily determined.¹

*Guthlac*² 30: “hē fela findeð, fēa bēoð gecorene,” is virtually a quotation from *Matthew*, xxii, 14. The long passage, 1322 ff., however, was certainly written by a man who knew the earlier Germanic gnomic sayings. It is put into the mouth of the messenger who goes to tell Guthlac’s sister of the Saint’s death:

Ellen bið sēlast pām þe oftost sceal
drēogan dryhtenbealu, dēope behyrgan
proht pēodengedāl, þonne sēo præg cymeð
wefen wyrdstafum! þæt wāt sē þe sceal
aswāman sārigrifð, wāt his singiefan
holdnes biheledne: hē sceal hēan þonan
gēomor hweorfan, pām bið gomenes wana,
þe pā earfēða oftost drēogeð
on sārgum sefan.

¹ Cf. Gollancz, *Christ*, p. 163, and Cook, *Christ*, pp. 136 ff.

² *Bib.*, 31, 55 ff.

In its form, though somewhat extended, it is typically heathen; in its exaltation of courage, in its reference to fate's decrees and the treasure giver, it rings like a speech from *Beowulf*; in the elegiac strain, it recalls the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer*.

Comparing gnomic expressions in Christian narrative poetry with those in heathen epic, we find:

1. A number of gnomic precepts having their origin in the Scriptures, rather than among Germanic tribes. The Christian gnome is distinctly theological, or hortatory after the doctrinal fashion.

2. Fewer gnomes in Christian poetry. This may be due to one of the following reasons. In the first place, Christian poetry is more or less didactic; it rejects accretions of wisdom in compact form, preferring sermons instead. In the second place, with the growth of a system of ethics and with the acceptance of Christianity, the old maxims no longer insinuated themselves into a literature which had its own doctrines. And, finally, it is to be remembered that the older epics grew out of lays which arose among the folk. Whatever the final manner of combining these lays, folk philosophy was, at least in part, retained as an essential flavor of the stories. Christian poetry was composed by the educated class, the monks, who turned, perhaps consciously, away from the philosophy of the people for the wisdom of the prophets.

The only extant specimen of Anglo-Saxon poetry in dialogue form which is didactic is paradoxically enough a late Christian composition. Here and there, showing specific gnomic forms and set in a frame like that of *Vafþrúfnesmól*, it is characteristically Germanic.

At the same time, as every one knows, the theme is widespread, and the fact that the Anglo-Saxon version is the oldest preserved and is Christian in the main does not alter the truth that it is blended with Rabbinical elements, that its origin is Eastern, and perhaps that origin lies in the visit to Solomon of the Queen of Sheba.

But *Solomon and Saturn*,¹ though Oriental and even Biblical, drew from Teutonic experience and philosophy a number of gnomic sayings. Nor is it to be marveled at that sententious expression, after a period of decadence, appears rejuvenated in one particular poem. The framework, made for the riddle contest, was such as to admit terse sentences, stray bits of wisdom; and the wonder would rather be if in a poem universal in popularity no sayings peculiar to the national life should have been incorporated. Germanic wisdom in *Solomon and Saturn* has been "touched up" by the Christian artist, but the original picture is clear under the Christian varnish, in lines such as these:

435 Wyrd bið wended hearde, wealleð swiðe geneahhe,
 hēo wōp weceð, hēo wēan hladeð,
 hēo gāst scyð, hēo gēr byreð:
 And hwæðre him mæg wissefa wyrda gehwylce
 gemetigian, gif hē bið mōdes glēaw,
 and tō his frēondum wile fultum sēcan
 ðeh hwæðre godcundes gæstes brūcan.

This passage seems to be a reminiscence of *Beowulf*, 572, which has been modified here as in other poems but with more elaboration: Fate, though hardly to be

¹ *Bib.*, 3², 58ff.

turned aside, yet may be diverted by the wise of mind. The conditions for tempering Fate, not imposed in the heathen gnome, are that a man must be prudent, seek aid from friends, and employ the divine spirit.

In 310 ff., we read a series of gnomes which are as brief and pointed in form and as Teutonic in content as a series of the Cotton Manuscript: ¹

Nieht bið wedera ðiestrost, nēd bið wyrda heardost,
sorh bið swārost byrðen, slāp bið dēaðe gelicost.

Nor is there any ground for seeing influence of Christian doctrine in these lines:

360 Ne mæg mon for ildo ænige hwile
ðone dēoran sīð, ac hē hine adrēogan sceall,

which contemplate the inevitableness of death and the necessity of enduring it. Fate is in the foreground.

In other instances, the gnomic form associated with Christian sentiment may appear.

224 Dol bið sē ðe gæð on dēop wæter,
 sē ðe sund nafað ne gesegled scip,
 ne fugles flyht, ne hē mid fōtum ne mæg
 grund geræcan: hūru sē Godes cunnað
 ful dyslice dryhtnes meahta.

The *dol bið* gnome and its analogues have been noticed as occurring in Christian passages.²

The *sum* type, which was postulated above as of Eastern origin, occurs here in close connection with the Deity.

342 Ac forhwām nāron eorð(we)lan ealle gedæled
 lēodum gelice? Sum tō lyt hafað
 gōdes grædig: hine God seteð
 ðurh geearnunga endgum tō ræste.

¹ Cf. 5b, ff.

² See pp. 42, 49, 132 (35a).

The distribution of worldly fortunes was a theme upon which the Anglo-Saxons loved to speculate: they assigned such distribution to God: since the Scriptures contain references to good and perfect gifts coming from above,¹ to various gifts from the same spirit, and the like,² it seems that this class of sententious sayings arose in the Orient and passed through the didactic books of the Old and the New Testaments, whence it was disseminated among the Christian Anglo-Saxons.

Of Christian origin seems to be the sentence formed by 181*b*–182*a*:

Wyr̥s dēð sē ðe līehð oððe ðæs sōðes ansæceð!

And finally, 349:

Unlæde bið and ormōd sē ðe ā wile
gēomrian on gihða: sē bið Gode fracoðast.

Better to avenge a friend than to mourn him, the heathen adage runs; mourn in spirit forever, and you are rebellious to God, the later principle affirms. According to the former ethics, conquer physically and enjoy revenge; according to Christianity, conquer your own soul and please God.

Two bits of folk wisdom have come down to us, embedded in prose, independent of lyric or epic connection and without further expansion. They are often published apart from their context, and should here be fixed in their proper places, both with respect to origin and to rank as sententious material.

Of these, the first is the *Death Speech of Bede*,³ the

¹ James, I, 17.

² 1 Corinthians, loc. cit.

³ Of all the manuscripts, that at St. Gall, No. 254, is the oldest and presumably the best. It dates from the ninth century, and is therefore

earliest gnomic expression for which a definite date may be assigned, 735 A.D. The saying itself is doubtless much older, as the context seems to indicate. For its preservation, we are indebted to Cuthbert, disciple of Bede and afterward Abbot of Jarrow, who included it in the letter he sent to Cuthwin detailing the death of Bede. According to the St. Gall Manuscript,¹ the verses stand:

Före there nēidfæræ nænig uuirthit
thonesnotturra than him thar[f] sīe,
tō ymbhyegannæ, ær his hiniong[a]e
huæt his gāstæ, gōdæs æththa yflæs
æfter dēothdæge dōemid ueeorth[a]e.²

but little later than the Northumbrian original. Besides another manuscript at Vienna, there are many in England, a number of which I have examined. There are two manuscript collections in which the letter is preserved: certain volumes of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and Simeon of Durham's *History*. For a list of printed versions, among which are differences similar to those in the manuscripts, see *Grund.*, p. 144.

¹ Cf. *Oldest English Texts*, H. Sweet, London, 1885, p. 149; *Übungsbuch*, J. Zupitza, Wien, 1897, s. 3.

² Before the necessary journey, no one becomes more wise of thought than to him is needful, to search out before his going hence what will be adjudged to his spirit after the day of death.

My own reading from Stowe 104 (twelfth or thirteenth century), with variations from Arundel 74, is as follows:

For¹ þām² nēd fere nāni wyrþeþ³
þances snotera þonne⁴ him þearf sī,⁵
tō gehicgenne ær his heonen gange,⁶
hwet his gāste gōdes oþþe yfeles⁷
æfter dēþe⁸ heonen⁷ dēmþe¹⁰ weorþe.

¹ Ar. ffor. ² MS. þan. ³ MS. wyrþaþ, Ar. wirþeh. ⁴ Ar. þone
⁵ Ar. sy. ⁶ Ar. omits heonen gange hwet his. ⁷ Ar. yvolys. ⁸ Ar.
deape. ⁹ Ar. henon. ¹⁰ Ar. demed.

Of other HE. MSS. examined, two omit the Anglo-Saxon passage altogether (Burney 297; folios 130a–131a, and MS. 25014, folio 117); another (Harleian 3680, folio 174a) leaves a space of three lines as if to include the speech after the words: "et in nra [nostra] quoq. lingua ut erat doctus in nrs. carminib[us]." Another (Tiberius C. II) omits the entire letter. This is to be regretted, since the MS. is one of the

Immediately preceding the lines, Cuthbert wrote: "Et in nostra quoque lingua, ut erat doctus in nostris carminibus, [dicens] de terribile exitu animarum e corpore." As found in Simeon's *History of the Church of Durham*, the letter adds, after a similar statement to the effect that Bede gave utterance to some lines composed in the Anglo-Saxon tongue: "Nam et tunc hoc Anglico carmine componens, multum compunctus aiebat."

One of the best reasons for maintaining that Bede quoted the verses instead of composing them lies in the variety of these versions. Just as ballads are seldom found in fixed form, but show variations even in the same community, so the lines here are observed to differ slightly, even in manuscripts not widely separated in time. It would seem that the speech was so familiar that each scribe wrote it as he knew it from memory. Moreover, internal evidence favors emphasis of the lines: "as he was learned in our songs," — for prudence and death, two favorite themes with Germanic folk, here come together. As Wülker remarks, this speech indicates that Bede had a great love for the popular poetry of his people.¹

The second saying is published by the editors of the *Bibliothek*² as a proverb of Winfrid's time. It occurs in a letter³ written by an unknown monk to

most important, dating from the eighth century and ranking with Cotton A. XIV next to the best, More's, in the Cambridge Public Library. Another (Tiberius A. XIV) is so damaged I make nothing of the lines. Others, as the Royal of the thirteenth century, give the verses in Latin.

¹ W. adds: "Derselbe mag von Beda selbst gedichtet oder einem ihm bekannten gedichte entnommen sein." — *Grund.*, p. 144.

² *Spruch aus Winfrids Zeit, Bib.*, 2, 315.

³ MS. at Vienna.

Winfrid, Pope Boniface, the Northumbrian missionary. Since Winfrid died in 755 A.D., the appearance of the speech in literature is contemporaneous with the one just discussed. It is preceded by the words, "Memento Saxonicum verbum," which indicate clearly enough that the quotation was in the nature of a proverb. I transcribe the version from the *Bibliothek*:¹

Oft dædlata dōme foreldit
sigistha gahuem :² suuytit thī āna.³

The interest in these two sayings lies in their early form,⁴ their definite dating, and the fact that they chanced to be lifted out of popular currency to an abiding place in literature.

IV

In the ages that have elapsed since these saws, meteorological observations and pointed sayings were received as a heritage from the highest representatives of wisdom, whether gods, men, or other earthly creatures, — after this long time, the line of descent is not easy to trace. By what professionally literary spokesmen were gnomic verses fixed in forms some of which yet survive? The Old Norse bard and the Anglo-Saxon scop or gleoman must have been responsible for those found in epics and lyrics. But strings of

¹ For other versions, cf. *Grund.*, p. 145. Cf. also notes in *Bib.*

² *gahuem*, MS., pointing to ninth century. Cf. Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

³ Often the slow one loses by his delay in every successful undertaking; therefore, he dies alone.

⁴ The "spruch" is not Northumbrian: *dædlata*, as Sweet observes, points to a West-Saxon original or a West-Saxon scribe.

gnomic verses, unconnected with narrative or elegiac verse, existed both in Old Norse and in Anglo-Saxon, as the *Hóvamól* and the *Cotton Gnomes* and the *Exeter Gnomes* bear witness. If it be held that such poems as these were felt to be lyric, then the question is answered at once, as for all other lyric verse. But gnomic verse was originally the expression of a rudimentary philosophy, and it came, I believe, to constitute a distinct type.¹

It may be objected that no aristocratic circle, or for that matter any audience, would listen to didactic remarks rolled off by elongated periods in a sonorous voice; that dullness would have debarred such a recital. The first point arising in answer to such objection is that in earliest times men voluntarily listened to instruction and gave ear to wisdom for its own sake.² But we may dismiss this epoch, an epoch when riddle and charms and gnomic sayings were fresh and new, and consider only that time when fixed sententiousness characterized entertainment. Proverbial lore, generalizations, dry as they may be, are capable of numerous applications: a clever poet might, by speaking mere conventional stereotyped phrases, have kept his audience interested. It is possible that the *Beowulf* poet generalized with concrete examples before him: for instance, when he urged loyalty among kindred, detestation of treachery, and the like; although in this poem I believe, as I have said above, that the generalizations

¹ "Sprüche" were said, not sung, says Weinhold, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

² "Of one thing I am sure," says Professor Gummere in a private letter, "the commonplace of posterity is often the oracular and startling word of wisdom for the fathers."

are conventional, without intended application. In later times, an ingenious poet has written a sequence of stanzas composed of proverb after proverb;¹ the total is not altogether without picturesque interest, for the reader looks through the eyes of the court circle whom the jester addresses. "Platitudes can be of intense interest if they approach our case," remarks Mr. George Meredith,² who in so saying but echoes the words of Aristotle, "One great help which maxims lend in speaking arises from the vulgarity of the hearers [that is, their love of the commonplace]. They are delighted when a general statement of the speaker hits those opinions which they hold in a particular case."³

If it be granted, tentatively even, that gnomic poems existed other than those left to us, it will perhaps be conceded to be possible that having swung into the circle of entertainment, they were spoken by a wise man, an affectedly wise man, or finally, perhaps, by one who burlesqued wisdom. If there were no such figure on record, we might conclude that the usual entertainer spoke lines befitting the ancient greybeard, and mimicked an all-wise dwarf. But there is an entertainer mentioned, in whose mouth such poetry is eminently fitting, the *pulr* of Old Norse, the *pyle* of Anglo-Saxon.

I am not forgetful that "little definite is known regarding the functions of the Northern *pulr*," and

¹ *The Jester's Sermon*, cited from Thornbury's *Songs of the Cavaliers and Roundheads in The Court Fool*, J. Doran, London, 1858, p. 97.

² *One of Our Conquerors*, Revised Edition, 1903, p. 372.

³ *Rhet.*, II, xxi. Jebb's translation, Edition of Sandys, Cambridge, 1909, p. 115.

that it is held by some writers that "commentators have regarded him too seriously." But among the latest discussions, one by P. S. Allen,¹ who dismisses him thus briefly, uses citations which seem to me to operate against his point of view. It can do no harm, at least, here to set forth what is known, and to draw conclusions, conservatively as one must.

According to Cleasby-Vigfusson, 749, the word *pulr* is defined, "A sayer of saws, a wise man, a sage (a bard?). This word, the technical meaning of which is not known, occurs on a Danish runic stone — Hruhald's *pular á Salhaugum*. Thorsen 17." Then follows a list of citations from the *Edda* where the *pulr* is referred to. Axel Olrik gives the brief definition, "a preacher or moral teacher," "ein verkünder religiöser oder moralischer lehren."²

But let us see what light we get from the occurrence of the word in the lays of the *Edda*, and let us begin with the reference which might seem to indicate that commentators have taken the *pulr* too seriously. After Sigurd has killed Fafnir, the first Pie speaks of Regin as *hára pul* (old gossip, — literally, hoary counselor).³ I take this to be a degenerate meaning. A wise man is old:⁴ increase of age results gradually in decrease of vital wisdom: garrulity, babbling, usurp the place of former wise sayings: the title remains, however, and "the wise man" is applied

¹ *The Mediæval Mimus*, in *M. Ph.*, VII, 335.

² *Nordisches Geistesleben*, translated by W. Ranisch, Heidelberg, 1908, p. 113.

³ *Fáfnismöl*, stanza 34, S.-G., I, 330.

⁴ The *pul* Starkad is designated by the epithet *senex*. Cf. Holder, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 198, etc.

to one no longer wise. Hence, the garrulous Regin is dubbed *hára þul* by the ironic Pie. This is not greatly different from the view of Ranisch,¹ who thinks the term here has become one of reproach, that it mirrors the decline of the old singer's position and of his loss in dignity. In *Vafþrúfnesmól*,² Odin is named "old sage," *gamle þulr*, by his opponent in the riddle contest; in *Hóvamól*,³ as master of runes he is named "the mighty wise man," *fimbolþulr*.⁴ In *Hóvamól*⁵ also occurs the line, "Mál es at þylja þular stóle á," indicating that the sage sat in a definitely appointed seat. It is significant, moreover, that the poem is thus labeled the product of a *þulr*. Or if the part of the poem in which this line occurs be held a distinct production, the *Lesson of Loddfáfnir*, then it is significant that the king's court contained just such a man as the runic stone commemorates, a wise man who counseled the monarch. According to Sijmons-Gering,⁶ the *Loddfáfnismól* is the single poem [among Eddic lays] for which we are to accept a *þulr* as author, — one of those people who exhibited their experience and knowledge before the circle of the prince and aristocracy. "He warns against imprudence, gives rules for journey and drink, recommends sincerity, friendship, generosity with measure, honor to the old. He refers to himself and his calling in

¹ *Eddalieder*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 11.

² Stanza 8, S.-G., I, 56.

³ Stanza 142, S.-G., I, 49.

⁴ " . . . und in diesem amt liegt Óþinns rolle als freund der skalden und als gott der dichtkunst beschlossen." — Fr. Kauffmann, in *Philologische Studien*, Halle, 1896, p. 160.

⁵ Stanza 110, S.-G., I, 42.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, I, clxviii.

counseling against laughter as the *gray þul*, since wise words often come from the faltering lips of the aged":

at hýrom þul hlæ[pu] aldrege,
opt's gótt þats gamler kveþa;
opt ór skǫrpom belg skilen orp koma.¹

Müllenhoff, who first considered at length the functions of the *þulir*, seems to be right in concluding that runes, charm-songs, and incantations, — all old knowledge, — belonged preëminently to a branch of these wise folk; but he goes too far in asserting that they were the fosterers of the entire poetic remains of the North.² His view meets with flat contradiction in the work of Sijmons-Gering.³

Mogk, in summarizing and commenting on Müllenhoff's attempt to differentiate the *þulr* from the *skald*, observes that the oldest Norse understood the *þulr* to be a man who distinguished himself through wise sayings, resting on tradition or experience.⁴ He remarks that the difference between the lays of the *Edda* and the sagas is mainly that the former deal in myth and phantasy, the latter in history. Therefore, he says, since the Eddic lays contain more or less mythologic and worldly wisdom, we might as well name their poets *þulir*. At the same time, he thinks it questionable whether the Icelanders had this designation for their poets: in one definite instance

¹ S.-G., I, 47.

² D.A.K., V, 289-290.

³ "... dass 'auch die heldendichtung in den alten bereich der þulir gehört habe, ist unerlaubt.'" — *Op. cit.*, I, clxvii.

⁴ "Wer also die weisheit früherer geschlechter in poetischer form überliefert, ist ein þulr." — *Geschichte der Norwegisch-Isländischen Literatur*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 21.

(*Volsunga Saga*, Chapter XXX) the poet of the Eddic lays is named *skald*, and since the work of the sagas is not vastly dissimilar from that in the *Edda*, we may conclude that the *pulir* were simply the *skalds*.¹

Now, Müllenhoff's belief that all the old lays are due to the *pulir*, and Mogk's opinion that the *pulir* were the same as the *skalds* seem to need revision. The *pulr* may have been no more than a *skald*, as Mogk thinks, — but if so, then I believe he was a definite kind of *skald*, — one who preserved the wise sayings of the people, gnomic wisdom arising from tradition and experience, but not all mythology and phantasy. If, then, the *pulr* was this definitely limited *skald*, obviously he is not to be accredited, as Müllenhoff concludes, with the composition of the entire *Edda*.

Let us see whether we get any light by a consideration of the Anglo-Saxon *pyle*. *þyle* is defined by Bosworth-Toller, p. 1084, as "orator, statesman." That he was a wise man also is revealed in the first citation, from *Liber Scintillarum*,² p. 119, l. 3 : "Gelæred pyle fela spæca mid ēawum wordum geopenaþ" which is the gloss to "doctus orator plures sermones paucis verbis aperit." A reference, without doubt, to sententious speaking, even if "orator" be construed without the possible connotation in "doctus." Besides *pyle* as a proper

¹ "Werden dann weiter dichter der Eddalieder als skáld, skalden als pulir bezeichnet, so kann zwischen beiden auch kein standesunterschied gewesen sein." — *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

² Cf. *E. E. T. S.*, XCIII. The *Liber* is of the eighth century, a date not inharmonious with other details that point to the time of composition of gnomic verses in Anglo-Saxon. That is, just such a "doctus orator" as is here glossed "gelæred pyle" may have recited the verses in the eighth century, and they may have been written down but very little later.

name in *Widsith*,¹ we find the word in *Beowulf*, where Unferth, "*þyle* Hrothgares," is mentioned several times. In lines 499-500 and 1166-1167, he is placed at the feet of the monarch, and he is again referred to in 1457. It was evidently his duty to lead the conversation, since he is the only one of the courtiers who crossed words with Beowulf, as he did in taunting Beowulf over his swimming match with Breca. Unferth is hardly the *scop* of Hrothgar, who recites a lay 1065-1160, just before the second mention of the *þyle*; nor is he, apparently, the poet of line 496b-497a. He was a contentious hero, grudging Beowulf his fame; he had not behaved well toward his relations, and yet he was a man in whom the king and queen placed confidence.²

As professional orator and counselor, the *þyle* of the seventh and eighth centuries probably occupied an important position at court. It is likely, according to the comment of Sijmons-Gering, that the Old Norse *þulir* also formed part of the retinues of little princes and chiefs.³ Men of experience, skilled in relations of actual life, familiar with the wisdom of the time,

¹ 24: *þeodric wēold Froncum, þyle Rendingum*. It is possible, however, that the correct translation of this line may be: "Theodric ruled the spear-men, *þyle* (his retainer) the shieldmen." "Now both the treacherous Iring and the nameless faithful counsellor seem to belong to the class of retainer known in Old English society as *thyle*: the professional orator and counsellor. . . . It is, therefore, remarkable, as Müllenhoff noted long ago, . . . that in our list *thyle* of the Rending is coupled with Theodric of the Franks. *Thyle* as a proper name is in any case strange enough: can we interpret it as referring to the faithful counsellor of the Thuringian war?" — R. W. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

² Cf. Müllenhoff, *op. cit.*, I, 25 ff., and A. Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 25 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, I, clxix.

especially with the mythological treasure of wisdom, they were spokesmen on solemn occasions, and guardians of spiritual interests. And, above all, the beginnings of mythologic and gnostic poetry may have arisen from their circle.¹

With regard to the form, it is always to be remembered that "gnomic verse" may refer to poetic compositions, not necessarily gnostic in the sense in which the word has hitherto been used in this introduction.

¹ The position of Unferth at the king's feet, his character, and his style of conversation are characteristics not dissimilar to those of the later court fools.

There is a questionable piece of evidence, which strengthens this observation, one which if unquestioned would put the resemblance above mere coincidence. In Wright-Wülker's Vocabularies, occurs the Latin "*de scurris*," glossed by "*hofðelum*." If this word may be read *de scurris* = *ofðelum* (= *ðylum*) or *hofðylum*, Bosworth-Toller concludes that the function of the *þyle* may have been something like that of the later court jester, "and moreover the attack of Unferth on Beowulf hardly contradicts the supposition." This is not the place to enter into the history of the court fool; but a few examples may be adduced to show a possible connection between him and the *þyle* or *þulr*. (Some writers maintain that *skalds* degenerated into court fools: the resemblances I observe hold, of course, for *skalds*, if the *þulir* are not marked out as a distinct class of *skalds*. My point is that the old speaker of wise sayings shows kinship with the jester.)

In *As You Like It*, Act III, scene 2, Touchstone answers sententiously Corin's question, "— how do you like this shepherd's life?" and in turn ends his speech with the words, "Hast any philosophy in thee, shepherd?" Touchstone himself is a philosopher: he makes rhymes; he remembers old verses; he is "swift and sententious." In *Twelfth Night*, the clown Feste preaches and quotes Latin; in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Villio or The Double Marriage*, there is also a philosophical fool. Like the didactic speakers in Old Norse, these fools say with impunity what they will to their superiors.

Since it is futile, however, to look for an unbroken line of descent, or to attempt to find in a later office the exact counterpart of an earlier one, we may remark two other conclusions: resemblances between *þyle* and fool may lie in their official positions rather than in their expressions; resemblances are found between counselors of the later time and those of the earlier period, — for example, Polonius might fittingly illustrate a latter day, somewhat degenerate *þulr*.

Metrically, *Hóvamól*, *Vafþrúðnesmól*, *Alvíssmól*, and *Grimnesmól*, to name no other Old Norse poems, are all gnomic. That is to say, just as elegiac verse, the strain of lament, was used in Greece by Solon for the enunciation of moral sentences, so in Old Norse hymnic verse was adapted to gnomic utterance. And just as this Greek paroemiac verse, or verse used for the expression of proverbs, consisted of a distich made by combining a hexameter line with a following pentameter line, so gnomic verse in Old Norse consisted of a long line followed by a short line: the *ljóðaháttr* couplet.¹ Since gnomic verse meter is closely related to that which lies at the foundation of the Greek hexameter, it is possible that the form is a heritage of the Indo-Germanic period.

Now, just as the hexameter in Greece ultimately came to be regarded the most popular form for moral verses, so the long line was preferred in Anglo-Saxon, even an extended line. The Cotton and Exeter gnomes show a large percentage of extra feet. Yet even in Anglo-Saxon the short line was occasionally used,² and sometimes the *ljóðaháttr*, as in Old Norse.

But gnomic sentences are probably not the earliest province of this verse, at least in Teutonic literature. It is found in the *Wessobrunner Gebet*, and in the oldest Anglo-Saxon *Charms*, and is used more in the *Edda* for the hymnic lyric than for gnomic poetry.³

¹ " . . . with the same effect of clinching the meaning of the first line."

— W. P. Ker, *Epic and Romance*, London, 1897, p. 156.

² See pp. 120, 125, 126.

³ A further discussion of gnomic verse measure would be disproportionate. But for the benefit of those interested in pursuing the investigation, I append the following bibliography: *Über Germanischen Versbau*,

In this introduction I have indicated that the gnomic saying is a universal form of literature, which, in its earliest expression among Germanic peoples — like riddle and charm — celebrates phenomena of the natural world. In the second place, it is employed for purposes of teaching: it promulgates principles of law and morality; in short, is the vehicle of the ethical code. Preliminary to the collections from Anglo-Saxon poetry, I have drawn examples from the Eddic lays of Gods and heroes and have tabulated the subjects of which they treat. Early heathen poetry of the Anglo-Saxons, whether epic or lyric, reveals a similar list of subjects, as the citations and summaries show. Prominent are gnomes on caution and courage, woes and wisdom of men, the value of friends and the inevitability of fate. Poetry in which ecclesiastical writers had a hand also contains gnomes, though the gnomic form is often weakened by appendages of Christian doctrine. Gnomic material found in Christian didactic poetry appears to be a heritage from the East, but sententious elements in narrative poetry — *Exodus*, *Daniel*, *Andreas*, for instance — bear unmistakable similarity to earlier gnomes of Germanic origin. Such poems were evidently composed by writers who were at once familiar with the old moral truths and the new theology. In some cases the ethical codes were not dissimilar, in some instances they closely resembled each other, in other instances the two systems were reconciled by the poet.

A. Heusler, Berlin, 1894, pp. 93 ff. *Der Ljóðaháttur, eine metrische Untersuchung*, A. Heusler, Berlin, 1889. *Über Stil und Typus der isländischen Saga*, Döring, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 31-40. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 325 ff. Koegel, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 ff.

The subject of each lesson was, "Many are the ways of death," the imperative to prepare for death, to make the passing joy, to be ready for the judgment. With the increase of sanctification, there resulted a corresponding decrease of physical expression.

And having reached these conclusions, we may turn to the most minute study of the *Golden Text*.

DETAILED CONSIDERATION OF EXETER GNOMES AND COTTON GNOMES

I

EXETER GNOMES

Beginning slightly below the middle of folio 88b, the gnostic poems of the Exeter Book extend through 92a, with an overflow of five words on 92b. Respectively preceding and following the collection are the *Various Fortunes of Men* and the *Wonders of Creation*. Distinct headings indicate three divisions (in this work A, B, and C), the first word of each being written in Roman square capitals with a large initial letter. Between consecutive divisions occurs the usual space of two lines. The Hiberno-Saxon palæography belongs probably to the middle of the eleventh century,¹ about the time Bishop Leofric was transferred from Crediton to Exeter, or shortly after his domiciliation in the latter town. Among the books he gave to the Cathedral, this volume was one prepared in all likelihood under his immediate supervision. It is the work of one scribe throughout, therefore the folios here under consideration exhibit characteristics that are found in the manuscript as a whole.²

¹ "Anfänge des 11 jahrhunderts," Schipper, *op. cit.*, p. 327; Wülker, *Grund*, p. 223; but Thorpe places it in the 10th century, *op. cit.*, p. v; and cf. Gollancz, *Cynewulf's Christ*, London, 1892, p. xxi.

² As ȝ for *and*, ū for *um*, etc.

Although these folios have not excited the vivid interest that other parts of the book have aroused, yet a certain recognition has been granted them from the time of the first modern mention of the manuscript. Hickes observed preliminary to his transcript of lines 72-144 that they are similar to the dithyramb (*sic*) of the Cotton Manuscript, "haud dissimile," though corrupt at the beginning and the end.¹ Wanley, in his fantastic summary, grouped folios 84b-98 as Liber IX, and naïvely noted, "fere totus est in ænigmatibus."² J. J. Conybeare, though following Wanley's arbitrary division of the folios, criticized this description as applying correctly to no part of Liber IX,³ but as having been suggested by the obscurity and difficulty of its actual contents.⁴ He accompanied his transcription of lines 72-84 with a fair Latin and a wretched English translation.⁵ In classing the verses as moral and didactic,⁶ the editor, W. D. Conybeare, seems to have been the first critic to apply a distinctive title. He characterized them as a "series of maxims and descriptions, thrown together with little or no connection, in the manner of the gnostic poetry of the Greeks; or . . . resembling the . . . Book of Proverbs."

Thorpe particularized Conybeare's generalization, by observing that the gnostic verses are akin to the *Sentences* of Theognis and the *Works and Days* of Hesiod, but he did not regard them as descended from the Greeks. He thought, rather, these "similar

¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 221.

² *Ibid.*, II, 279.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

⁴ These are *Widsith*, *Fortunes*, *Gnomes*, *Wonders of Creation*, *Riming Poem*, *Panther*, *Whale*, *Fragment*.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 228.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. lxxi.

productions of the ancient world originated in a state of society common to every people at a certain period of civilization,"¹ a view consistent with scholarly opinion to-day. Thorpe further observed that they are of a class similar to the *Hōvamōl*; so far as I have noticed he was the first to make the comparison. Ettmüller printed lines 61-71, 72-138, 139-192 under the title *Ealdevidas*,² for the first time bringing the *Cotton Gnomes* and *Exeter Gnomes* under one heading. In his preface,³ he classes them as "carmina popularia" under the broader title "Carmina quæ feruntur didactica."⁴ His notes and emendations are here and there helpful; but in places they do violence to the text.⁵

After Ettmüller, besides those editors and critics mentioned in connection with the *Cotton Gnomes*, other scholars have incidentally dropped a word here and there or written a brief paragraph or two regarding the Exeter material. Their several contributions will be duly noted under the consideration of date and authorship.

As others have stated, analysis of the contents reveals only an embryonic organism, an organic structure probably more fancied than real, a creation of the reader rather than of the writer. But such analysis may at least find the elements out of which the gnomes were fashioned.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. viii.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 286.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xix.

⁴ Further: "proverbiorum collectiones nominandæ sunt, varia proverbia alliterationis tantum vinculo conjuncta continentis."

⁵ Moreover, the typography abounds in errors.

A

The beginning, "Question me skilfully," momentarily promises a riddle contest such as is found in *Vafþrúfnesmól*, *Alvíssmól*, *Solomon and Saturn*, or *Tragemundslíed*; at least, a reader expects question and answer. But there are no questions, unless they are implicit or have become absorbed. "God shall first be praised," for example, may have been given in reply to the query, "Who shall first be praised?" and so on for the other statements. In an older version there may have been volleys of question and answer resulting in a poem of dual nature, such as the dramatic beginning anticipates. Later, the dialogue may have been discarded and only the contents preserved. Again, it may be that instead of question and answer, the poem showed a gnomic see-saw of two wise men balancing their wisdom.¹ Such a view is not improbable: the utterance of proverbs or maxims demanded the same brain-play as did the

¹ This is the view held by Müller (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 13 ff.) who teases out the fibrils of speeches, duly assigning them to Speaker 1 and Speaker 2. His arguments for two speakers are: 1. The antithetic character of the speeches as a natural development in speech between two persons; 2. the expansion of themes sounded by one and taken up by the other. Admitting the difficulty of giving an accurate interpretation of the dialogue, he makes the attempt. For instance, A begins: *Frige mec*, etc. B continues, *ne læt . . . geþohtas*. A begins, *Glēawe men. . . .* B takes it up, *God sceal mon . . .* and develops the idea in lines 5 and 6. It will be observed that Müller looks upon the beginning as an essential part of the whole. I do not see how it is possible to agree absolutely with his attributions, even if one were disposed to accept his theory. Can anything but arbitrariness mark off so much for Speaker A or Speaker B? Moreover, his argument for two speakers is weak. Anglo-Saxon verse is by nature antithetic, and expansion may be due to poetic elaboration of prose maxims and to interpolations.

propounding and solution of riddles.¹ On the whole, however, I am inclined to agree with Rieger, Strobl,² and Brandl in thinking that the beginning framework, though suggestive of tongue-play or a "flytting," was given up almost at once. In the first place, there is no sound argument that one can adduce from the content for the presence of two speakers; in the second place, the poem seems to indicate an exercise of verse technic built out of gnomonic material. The *pulir* of the Old Norse recited proverbs and oracles as well as songs from their position in the royal hall; the Anglo-Saxon *pyle* may have used this introduction as a playful dramatic device for establishing a bond between him and his audience.³ It is also to be remembered that personal references are numerous in Anglo-Saxon poetry, as in *Seafarer*, *The Banished Wife's Lament*, *The Husband's Message*, and *Widsith*; also that notwithstanding attempts to make balanced lays or dialogue poems out of the first

¹ Cf. *Some Forms of the Riddle Question and the Exercise of the Wits in Popular Fiction and Formal Literature*, R. Schevill, Berkeley, Cal., 1911. See esp. pp. 204-205.

² Strobl sees a strong contrast between the introduction and the rest of the poem. He thinks the former to be the beginning of a "wettlied," which the gnome collector prefixed to his verses, and that it is unlikely that a poet would compose an introduction which stands in such total opposition to the sequence. He thinks, however, that the first four lines prove the existence of balanced poems in AS. literature. Brandl seems to differ but slightly from this point of view in remarking that the start of a dialogue between two wise men "ohne weiteres vergessen wird."

³ Merbot thinks the beginning of a riddle contest is indicated, and that *gid* may signify "riddle," but he adds: "Doch macht die vielbedeutigkeit von gid diese auslegung zweifelhaft, denn man könnte gid an eben dieser stelle in einer andern ihm eigentümlichen bedeutung, ausspruch, weisheits-spruch fassen." — *Aesthetische Studien zur angelsächsischen Poesie*, Breslau, 1883, p. 26.

named, and to relate the *Lament* and the *Message* as parts of a whole, so far the idea of one speaker in the *Seafarer* has the balance of authority, the love lyrics are taken as individual units, and the personal element is regarded as dramatic appeal to the reader. Widsith is not without his value in the history of the drama.¹

Lines 1-36 Strobl marks off as "geistliche sprüche." Brandl observes that 4b-138 are Christian with incidental "bekämpfung" of the heathen.² Müller sees two large sections: 1-44; 45-72. God is dominant in the first, his power and man's transitoriness are accented; the relations of human beings to one another are defined in the second, — God is not mentioned.³

If we break up the group more minutely, the mixture of heathen and Christian elements will become more apparent. 4b-18a show Christian influence: God is "our Father;" he is not affected by the Fates, disease, nor age; he is the Almighty. 18b-25a are old gnomes⁴ wherein objects and qualities are paired: the wise shall meet with the wise; the useful shall be with the useful; two shall be mates. 25b-34 reflect on the passing of things earthly and the omniscience of God, who alone knows whence disease comes, who decreases the children of earth that there

¹ *The Mediæval Stage*, E. K. Chambers, Oxford, 1903, I, 28 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 960. He divides the *Exeter Gnomes* into two parts: 1-138; 139-206.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁴ It is always to be remembered, however, in Anglo-Saxon as in Greek Gnostic Poetry, "neither commonplace nor disconnection are sufficient proof of spuriousness, and again no line is more likely to be foisted in than a really good and striking line." — Cf. *Social Greece*, J. P. Mahaffy, 1874, p. 83.

may be room for the increase. 35-67 may be grouped together, inasmuch as they are gnomes dealing with humanity: the foolish man is defined, the wise, the rich, the poor, the happy (35-39a); a little discourse on the sorrows of the blind man follows (39b-44).

With the exception of 18b-25a, these lines are, I believe, the expression of a Christian writer. *Ēadig* (37) suggests "blessed," rather than "wealthy" (cf. 108, 157), a meaning acquired under the influence of Christianity.¹ The tone of the line and its neighbors, as Brandl suggests, is that of the Sermon on the Mount. The one God, whether *meotud* (29), *dryhten* (35) or *waldend* (43), is evidently the God of the Christians, not Woden nor another.

From 44 on, however, the tone is changed. "Lēf mon lāeces behōfað" thrusts a gnomic head from the mists of ancient times.² The training of the young man is enjoined (45b-50). "The strong of mind shall govern" (51a) precedes a passage on stormy weather, which, in turn, leads to a comparison between calm seas and people without strife (51b-58). Brandl remarks that 58-71 appear to be a fragment out of the courtly heroic time: "Strong men are bold by nature" (59a), "A king is desirous of power" (59b), antithesis between giver and taker of land (60),³

¹ Cf. McGillivray, *The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English*, Halle, 1902, p. 151.

² Cf. "Sick men are for skilful leeches, prodigals for prisoning, fools for teachers." — From the *Hitopadesā*, translated by Sir Edwin Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 93. It is interesting to observe that in this speech, teachers are placed near leeches. Cf. 45a and 45b.

³ Conquered land was at first shared; later the king took a special part for himself. — *Rechtsalterthümer*, Grimm, 246 ff. Cited by Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 290.

matching of glory and pride, the bold and the brave (61), places of the leader, the cavalry, and the infantry (63-64*a*). A passage on woman follows (64*b*-66), which throws light on her position and standing among Germanic tribes, and is in keeping with the reports of Tacitus and others. The shamed man is contrasted with the pure man (67). 68-71 are of the highest antiquity, as the roughly sketched picture indicates: the prince is on the high seat surrounded by his comitatus or "gesīðmægen," the treasure (of golden armlets and beakers) awaits distribution. As each man receives his share, the hand of the ruler is laid upon his head. Concerning the dignity of chiefs, which was ranked according to number and strength of the comitatus, see *Germania*, XIII: "Hæc dignitas hæ vires, magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus in bello præsidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quòque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat: expetuntur enim legationibus, et muneribus ornantur, et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant."

B

72-78*a* are gnomes on the seasons, which recall *Gn. C.*, 3*b*-8. 72*a*, 72*b*, 73*a*, are, probably, examples of most primitive gnostic expression. This fact appears to be further established by the number of seasons. Whereas in *Gn. C.*, four parts of the year are distinguished, here the old Germanic division into two parts only is manifest: "winter shall go, fair

weather, summer-hot, return.”¹ 78–81 are unrelated sayings, cleverly dovetailed, without embellishment, to meet the exigencies of verse. 79 seems half to reveal and half conceal an allusion to the nether world of the Teutons, who held the grave to be the starting point of the underground way to hell. 82–104 treat largely of women: 82–93 deal with the duties of king and queen, the latter being in the foreground;² 95b–100 form the famous “Frisian woman” passage. Morley thinks it may have been a snatch of sailor song; in any case, it reflects the evidently notable domestic felicity of that particular tribe.³ 94–95a are out of context: “a ship shall be nailed,⁴ a shield bound.” That is, the shield shall be bound with hides. Compare with this description, Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 14: “ne scuta quidem ferro nervove firmata, sed viminum textus vel tennis et fucatas colore tabulas.” The use of iron was little known among the early

¹ On division of the year, cf. *Germania*, XXVI; further P. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

² On the purchase of women, Tacitus says, *Germania*, XVIII, that the woman was bought honorably with a dowry of oxen, bridled horse and shield, with spear or sword. Just as those gifts were intended to symbolize her part in domestic life and on the battlefield — for in the older times she often accompanied her husband — so the armlets and beakers appear to symbolize a later state of society in which the activity of woman was more highly specialized, diversely from that of man. As the warrior is to be valorous, so is his wife to be blithe of spirit in the banquet hall, whether giving treasure or serving her lord with the first tumbler of wine. At the same time, the old idea of equality is present; they two shall hold counsel together.

³ To sell wife or child was a last resort with the Frisians. Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.*, LV, 72. Quoted by Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 185.

⁴ Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 492: “Wir sehen nun hier auf das deutlichste, wie das epitheton die gewünschte beschaffenheit des hauptworts vorausnimmt. Es hiess hier, ‘das schiff soll genagelt sein’ — und ‘nägled scip’ ist eine poetische formel.”

Germans, although it will be remembered, Beowulf, going to fight the dragon, had an iron shield made as an extra precaution.¹ 101-103 comment on faithful and unfaithful women: the woman shall hold troth with her man. Lack of fidelity among the early Teutons was punished severely. Tacitus says,² "for a woman who sells her chastity there is no pardon." At the time the gnomic poems were written, inconstancy had probably become more common or the punishment had become softened. The lines seem to indicate this double condition. If the penalty was as hard as in the earlier days, why the mention of the small item that a woman is thought of contemptuously, in case of defamation? And she enjoys strange men when the husband is far away: a derogatory comment, but not indicating that death follows upon the misdemeanor. 104-111 form a group which continues the idea advanced in the "Frisian woman" passage, in showing the desire of the man at sea to return to his home and in declaring his need of wood and water. 112-115*a* assert the necessity of being fed, and it is significant that meat is synecdoche for food (cf. modern bread, or bread *and* meat). Here and in 125 it may be that a figurative notion is altogether lacking. Starkad says, "The food of valiant men is raw . . . the flesh of rams and swine."³ 115*b*-117 have to do with gruesome admonitions about burial of the dead. I see in 117 an echo of the custom set forth by Tacitus in *Germania* XII, where he says, "Crimes ought to have

¹ Cf. lines 2338 ff.

² *Germania*, XIX.

³ The Indo-Europeans all make their appearance in history as meat-eating peoples.

public punishment, shameful offences ought to be concealed.”¹ 118–130 are similar to 78*b*–81 in being distinct gnomes fitted together. 118, 119*b*–120*a*, 121, 122, — these have the tone of old proverbs, the rhyme and compactness of form indicate the shaping and polish of time. The few adornments in the lines are only such as are necessary to hold together the verse scheme. 130–138 form the close, which is obviously the work of a Christian redactor.² The Woden passage is one of the few allusions in (extant) Anglo-Saxon poetry to the gods worshipped by the ancient Germans. Line 138 concludes this division in true homiletic fashion.

With the exception of the Christian touches at the beginning and the end, this division is almost entirely heathen. The hand of the monk is patent in the lines declaring God’s power over winter and over Woden. I do not agree with Brandl in thinking new and old are interwoven throughout. In the first place, there is no other mark of Christian influence; in the second place, the material is less didactic. All old gnomes are descriptive rather than imperative;³ the picture, not the command, prevails here.

¹ “Ignavos et imbelles, et corpore infames, coena ac palude, injecta insuper crate, mergunt.”

² *Hæden*, a new formation before 450 A.D., took the place of *paganus*, *Samaritanus*. On this word, an etymological problem, see McGillivray, *op. cit.*, p. 14, note 2.

³ “— viel weniger befehlend, als beschreibend.” Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 44. Cf. also Brooke, who translates ll. 72–79, 82–93, and 126–132 as the oldest of the Exeter Gnomes. — *English Literature from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest*, New York, 1898, p. 317.

C

The third and last division Brandl calls a *spielmans spruch*.¹ Müller observes that singer and soldier are in the foreground² and suggests that the lay may have been sung on the battlefield, by a minstrel to the soldiers. He was a Christian singer, who sought to palliate war and to excuse it, and he does so by the passage on the Cain-Abel feud.

Analysis of the division discloses resemblance to Old Norse verse, both in matter and manner.³

139, 140, 141, 144 form a *fornyrðislag* strophe; ⁴ 145 has a parallel in *Hóvamól* 42, "to his friend a man should be a friend"; ⁵ 146 contains an idiom probably a direct borrowing from the Icelandic: *ferð feor bī tūne* is explained by *fara um tūn*, to pass by a house; the whole line is akin to *Hóvamól* 34, "the digression is great to (the home of) a false friend, even if he dwell on the way." ⁶ 147-152 comment on the fate of the man, who, friendless, takes wolves for comrades. This subject, the friendless man, is constantly appearing in early literature. In a state of society where the family or clan are of much importance, the homeless one is without protection of law.

¹ Cf. Rieger: "Das anziehende der kleinern dichtungen liegt, abgesehen von ihrem inhalt, darin dass die uns die alte volksmässige übung der dichtung vor augen führen, wonach der sänger in der halle versammelten helden unterm trinken mit einem vortrag zu harfe unterhält, der seiner bestimmung nach kurz und abgerundet sein muss." — *Zftf. f. d. Phil.*, I, 332 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

³ Icelandic bards often visited England during Danish invasions.

⁴ Cf. Strobl, *op. cit.*, p. 54 ff.

⁵ *vin sinom skal maþr vinr vesa*, — S.-G., I, 31.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

No heavier punishment, then, could befall a man than to be expelled from the circle of which he might be a member.¹ The themes of the *Wanderer* and *Seafarer* testify somewhat to this truth.² As in passages 18b-25a, 78b-81, 118-130, we found distinct gnomes tied together by no bond save primitive prosody, so we have in 153-159 a collection of old sayings bound together in a similar fashion. "A fillet shall be twisted" recalls that an adornment for the hair was of rolled gold, worn sometimes even by warriors. When Starkad was at the court of Ingeld, he threw back at the queen the ribbon she had tossed him thinking to placate his wrath: "it is amiss that the hair of men that are ready for battle should be bound back in wreathed gold."³ Breaking the heathen tone of this passage, 156b-157 is apparently a reminiscence of *Job* i, 21: "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away." 160-161, a couplet on trees and truth, is an example of early punning. The parallelism to Old Norse verse structure returns in 162-164, a *ljóðaháttir* strophe which shows Christian sentiment: "God has no use for the faithless and venom-minded man." 165 divided into two lines becomes analogous to *ljóðaháttir*,⁴ and continues with biblical teaching: "God created the world, commanded things to be." 166-167 form a *ljóðaháttir* couplet on things fitting for men. 168-169, a *ljóðaháttir* half-strophe, "Many men, many minds."⁵ The

¹ Cf. Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 171.

² Monig biþ uncūþ trēow geþofta. — *Maxims*, *Bib.* 2, 280-281.

³ Saxo, Elton, p. 254, cf. Holder. p. 207.

⁴ Cf. Sievers, *PBB.*, XII, 478.

⁵ Strobl combines 165-169 in a five-line strophe.

thought is extended in 170-172, the relief from sadness furnished by the harp. 173-177 return to the idea of friendship, with which compare above, 145, and *Hóvamól*, 43-47, particularly, "Young was I once, I walked alone, and bewildered seemed in the way; then I found another and rich I thought me; for man is the joy of man."¹ 177 is a forcible suggestion of the respect formerly felt for the bear; "To the heathen Teuton, a bear was almost a man, stronger, almost as cunning."² 178-179, enjoining men to sleep with trappings, give no unusual command; for warriors often slept in their armor or with it near at hand.³ On 180-181, the second half of the *ljóðaháttr* stanza, see notes, p. 145. 182-193 throw additional light on what Tacitus says of the absorbing game of dice.⁴ The custom appears to have survived longer in Iceland and Denmark; but wherever the scene of the play here outlined was laid, dicing had degenerated from the sober game of honor described by Tacitus. Cheating, stealing the dice, and backbiting seem to be characteristic of these players. It recalls the tale told by Saxo, also of a shipboard game. Toste of Jutland, the protagonist, warred with Hadding of Sweden. On one occasion, when he went to Britain, for "sheer wantonness he got his crew together to play dice, and when a wrangle arose from the throwing of the tables, he

¹ Miss Bray's translation, cf. S.-G., I, 32.

² York Powell, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxiv.

³ Cf. *Beowulf*, 1243-1251.

⁴ "Aleam (quod mirere) sobrii inter servia exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo jactu de libertate et de corpore contendant." — *Germania*, XXIV.

taught them to wind it up with a fatal affray.”¹ 186–193 form a final *ljóðaháttir* stanza. 194–202 is a late interpolation, the Anglo-Saxon Christian’s answer to the ancient question, “Whence came evil?” 203–206 revert to old gnomes: ready shall be shield, point on staff, edge on sword, tip on spear, heart for the brave, helmet for the bold, limited treasure for the mean in heart.²

For the date and authorship of the verses, such opinion as has been expressed manifests some divergence. Trautmann, basing his reasons on metrical grounds,³ denied to Cynewulf authorship of the *Exeter Gnomes*.⁴

Since Dietrich (who attributed to him the four gnostic groups⁵), Rieger,⁶ and Sarrazin⁷ (who agree that he had a hand in the composition of group A), placed Cynewulf in the eighth century, — Dietrich identifying him with the Bishop of Lindisfarne, — they implicitly assigned these lines to the same time. Strobl argued (particularly of C) for the close of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, reasoning on a fancied reflection of the Oswald-Penda feud in the Cain-Abel passage. Stopford Brooke expressed a belief that the verses originated in the early eighth century, and that they were probably heard by Ecgbert, Æthelberht, and Alcuin; that they were composed by a Northumbrian and later taken up in Wessex after Alfred’s

¹ Elton, p. 42; cf. Holder, p. 34.

² Brandl thinks these last lines are natural as coming from a *spielman*, who praises the generosity of his Lord. — *Op. cit.*, p. 961. Brooke hears in them the true heroic ring, as in *Gn. C.* — *Early English Literature*, II, 278.

³ Cf. *BB.* I, 41.

⁴ Cf. also Schmitz, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁵ *Anglia*, I, 484; II, 446.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 331 ff.

⁷ *Eng. St.*, XXXVIII, 145–195.

day.¹ Brandl placed the greater part of A and B in the eighth century,² making his criterion the lack of the definite article before weak adjective and substantive.³ C he assigned to a time and locality not far from those of the young King Alfred.

Argument against ascription to Cynewulf is superfluous. There is no good reason for assuming that he is the author, if there were no reasons to the contrary. Weaving a literary fabric from odds and ends of sententious material is hardly worthy the name of authorship,⁴ and if it is, it is not the kind of composition Cynewulf has left in his signed works. If its crudeness is due to a stilted copy-book purpose, as Rieger suggested, there is no proof that Cynewulf ever wrote copy-books. The involution of the runes is done with skill and subtlety, the mortising of these gnomes by a prentice hand.

But the suggestion that they were put together in the North is of more moment and requires some consideration. If there is anything in language or thought which points to Anglia or Mercia as the home of the compiler, it should be given due weight.⁵ If in the forms no definite peculiarities occur that are to be labeled non-West-Saxon, we may conclude that,

¹ *Early English Literature*, II, 277 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 961; cf. also p. 1034.

³ See II. 79, 96.

⁴ When other scholars were ascribing the verses to Cynewulf, Wülker suggested that most of the speeches are not by a definite author, "sondern aus der volksweisheit stammen." — *Grund.*, p. 230.

⁵ It is to be remembered, of course, that transmission through a number of years by many scribes in sequence may have resulted in considerable modification of forms; further, that poetry is to be treated with caution in drawing philological conclusions.

though written elsewhere at an early date, they had so long been domiciled in West-Saxon as to have lost the mark of original craftsmanship, or that they were written primarily, at whatever time, in this dialect. Now an examination of the language reveals regular West-Saxon characteristics. A few instances which suggest Northern dialect are nevertheless found in Southern poetry,¹ and therefore their presence counts for little in determining provenience. So far, then, as language is any proof of provenience, although there are forms which may possibly or even probably be other than West-Saxon, yet they are also found in distinctively West-Saxon works, and no one departure from the norm is great enough to confirm by a hair's weight any opinion predisposed in favor of Northern origin. On the contrary, all signs point to West-Saxon as the home of the gnomie collector.

And to revert to this collector: who was he? There can be no satisfactory answer to the question, but in the absence of knowledge it is interesting to surmise. It may not be too wild a flight to ascribe authorship to Alfred himself. His *Handbōc*, not extant, as is well known, was described by Asser and cited by William of Malmesbury. In the centuries between these authors, some parts if not all of it must have been current and recognized. However crude the royal verse, the Exeter Book compiler would probably have transcribed it. That Alfred's poetic attempts were crude, is revealed by the only examples which have come down to us as the supposed work

¹ *u-* or *a-*umlaut of *a*, *easforan*; *u-*umlaut of *ī* to *īo* (*ēo*), *wīcfreopa*, *leoƿað*, *leomu*; unbroken *a* before *l* + consonant, *waldend*, *alwālda*.

of his hand : the verses in the preface and at the close of the *Pastoral Care*. The language tallies in every respect with that of his own prose.¹

The *Enchiridion*, or *Handbōc*, may reasonably be supposed to have contained just such maxims and practical bits of advice as these gnomes show. The fact that they are largely heathen seems not to accord with the Christian spirit of his prose ; but some points may be adduced to meet this objection. First, his foresight and wisdom would have seen that a new application of old truths would be more welcome to his people, semi-heathen as they were, than new material altogether. After creed is dead, cult lives on and its language longer still ; but it may be used with underlying reference to a new religion. As a second suggestion, the story of St. Aldhelm is not without value. At corners, on byways, wherever he might collect a crowd, he sang heathen songs and spoke old sayings. . Then when the crowd was duly interested, he branched into Christian teaching. Gnomes may have been preserved in writing for similar reasons. Moreover, it was Alfred, it appears, who handed down this story of Aldhelm. William of Malmesbury² says: "Litteris itaque ad plenum instructus, nativæ quoque linguæ non negligebat carmina ; adeo ut, *teste libro Elfredi*, de quo superius dixi, nulla umquam ætate par ei fuerit quisquam, Poesim Anglicam posse facere, cantum componere, eadem apposite vel canere vel dicere. *Denique com-*

¹ The *Metres*, being translations, may be dismissed with the observation that in many places (cf. notes, *passim*) they show parallelism of expression with the *Gnomic Verses*.

² *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, V, 1, ¶ 5. The italics are mine.

memorat Elfredus carmen triviale, quod adhuc vulgo cantitatur, Aldhelmum fecisse; aditiens causam qua probet rationabiliter tantum virum his quæ videantur frivola instituisse: populum eo tempore semi-barbarum, parum divinis sermonibus intentum, statim, cantatis missis, domus cursitare solitum; ideoque sanctum virum super pontem qui rura et urbem continuat, abeuntibus se opposuisse obicem, quasi artem cantandi professum. Eo plusquam semel facto, plebis favorem et concursum emeritum. Hoc commento sensim inter ludicra verbis Scripturarum insertis, cives ad sanitatem reduxisse; qui si severe et excommunicatione agendum putasset, profecto profecisset nihil."

It is not unlikely that King Alfred might have profited by the device of the saint which he reported. The "trivial song" of Aldhelm's, also lost, might throw light on this possibility. The words of scripture inserted carefully between the parts of the heathen song would seem to be in close parallel with the Christian sentences inserted among our gnomes.¹

Probably legendary is the report of Alfred's visit to the camp of his enemies, in the character of a minstrel or jester. But the very tradition implies a possibility. And he loved "Saxonica poemata," delighting to memorize them at an early age.²

But any ascription of authorship is hazardous. At best, it may be said that the *Exeter Gnomes* were put

¹ It is a small point, but the pun in l. 121 is consistent with Alfred's continual plays on "God" and "good." Cf. *De Consolatione*, XXXIV, XXXV, etc.

² Cf. Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, chs. XXII and XXIII. See, especially, the edition by W. H. Stevenson, Oxford, 1904, and the copious notes on this subject, pp. 220-225.

together in the eighth or ninth century by a West-Saxon writer. He was acquainted with the Germanic customs, traditions, and sayings; he was, at the same time, familiar with the teachings of Christianity. If the elements drawn from Germanic lore were written down earlier, then the Christian reviser inserted lines of later origin and modified the framework, to some extent, to fit the new theology.

COTTON GNOMES

The gnomology here considered is found in the Cotton Manuscript, Tiberius B. 1.1.¹ Before passing into the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, it belonged to Bowyer, Keeper of the Records in the Tower, and was therefore designated by Joscelyn, Archbishop Parker's Secretary, as "MS. Boyer." Notes in the volume made by Robert Talbot, Rector of Burlingham, Norfolk, might indicate that he was also a former owner. Exclusive of the single gnomonic folio, the MS. comprises three treatises, and numbers 165 leaves. The *Orosius* occupies folios 3a to 111b inclusive. At the top of 112a, Joscelyn wrote *Cronica Saxonica Abingdoniæ ad annum 1066*;² but he was a bit premature, for on this sheet begins the *Menologium*, which ends at the bottom of 114b. The gnomes fill not quite the recto and verso of 115.³ Four lines of 115b are taken up by the opening of the *Chronicle*, which closes with eight lines of 164b.

¹ This quarto has often been described; for example, by Wanley (*op. cit.*, II, 219), Earle (*op. cit.*, xxviii), Plummer (*op. cit.*, II, xxx ff.).

² Pl., *op. cit.*, I, 223.

³ See frontispiece for facsimile of 115a.

The fact that the gnomology directly follows the *Menologium* caused early editors¹ to regard it as part of that poem, or intimately connected with it. But the further fact that the first line is written in majuscules is an exterior sign that the scribe recognized new material, and the fact that there is no internal connection is stronger evidence that there is no ground for regarding the sentences as an appendix to that Calendar. Moreover, folio 115*a* is not in corresponding alignment with folio 114*b*; for the first line of 115*a* is opposite the second line of 114*b*. The scribe who wrote down the gnomes continued for some folios² with the *Chronicle*, and beginning with 115*b* keeps the alignment constant.

Except for the first line, the MS. is written in Hiberno-English minuscules of the eleventh century.³ By reference to the illustration it will be seen that the first line is in Roman majuscules, largely square capitals, but showing uncial forms in *d*, *e*, and *h*.

The *L* is, as usual, an exception to the rule that square capitals are of the same height. The metrical point is used, as in other poems, to mark the half-line, and was employed, apparently, with correct knowledge of its functions.⁴ It is omitted only three

¹ Hickes, Fox, Ebeling.

² At least for a number. F. Madan thinks there are only two hands in the *Chronicle*; one to 1046, another to 1066 (cf. *Books in Manuscript*, p. 103). Pl. says several hands are discernible.

³ About A.D. 1045. — Warner's *Index*, I, 242. But Thorpe (*Orosius*, p. vi) says not later than the tenth century.

⁴ The MS. seems to indicate that these points were inserted by the original scribe, though corrections are later, — cf. *gēres*, l. 9. Bosworth on the first page of notes to his edition of the *Orosius* observes: "These

times and is never misplaced. The accent-mark occurs but seldom, and serves to show the stress, I take it, rather than a long vowel.

History of interest in this group of gnomes began in 1703, when Hickes made a transcript for his *Thesaurus*, accompanying it with a Latin translation. He added a brief analysis of the contents, "quarum elegantia, splendor et proprietates Latine exhiberi non possunt."¹ Wanley in the second volume of the same work quoted the beginning and end of the collection, and commented, "Carmina quædam proverbialia (ut videtur) Saxonice."² Nearly a hundred years passed during which no reference was made to the poem. Then Sharon Turner in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons* printed the text with a free translation. He classed it as an ode, though he qualified his classification by adding, "it is a very singular and curious composition."³ From this time on, comparatively frequent mention was made of the lines. In 1826 J. J. Conybeare published brief quotations from Hickes's text.⁴ In 1830, the Rev. Samuel Fox published the text (following Hickes, "except in a few instances") with a fair English translation.⁵ The year 1842 marked the translation of the gnomes

alterations appear to have been made several centuries after the writing of the Cotton, and yet before the knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon idiom had entirely passed away."

¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 207. Cf. also I, 221.

² *Ibid.*, II, 219.

³ *Ibid.*, III, 19, 3, 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 230-232. His English translation preserves nothing of the original spirit.

⁵ He fondly compares the poem to the luxuriant imagination of Pindar. It is no small testimony to the school of Cowley that even in the Cotton gnomology, Turner and Fox saw a Pindaric Ode!

into Dutch, by Arend. Within the next decade, German scholars turned their attention to Hickes's text: Ebeling¹ (1847) and Ettmüller² (1850) embodied it in their selections from Anglo-Saxon literature. In 1865, Earle included the folio in his work on the Saxon Chronicles, having made his own text from the original manuscript.³ This excellent volume was revised 1892–1899 by Plummer, who, in his appendix,⁴ gave a place to the gnomic poem.

There was practically no critical work on the text until 1857, when Grein published the *Versus Gnomici* in his *Bibliothek*.⁵ From this time on, a more scientific spirit operates here, as elsewhere in literature. In 1872, Sievers made a collation of Grein's text with the original;⁶ in 1883, Wülker, revising Grein's work, published it under the title *Denksprüche*, with considerable annotation.⁷ In 1887, Strobl⁸ put forth a brief, interesting article, in which he discussed questions of age and source; and in 1893, Hugo Müller wrote a short dissertation: *Über Die Angelsächsischen Versus Gnomici*.⁹ The latest contribution is that of Alois Brandl, who in Paul's *Grundriss*¹⁰ has discussed the structure of the poem. For fragmentary comments and emendations made by other writers, see notes.¹¹

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 119–121.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 283 ff.

³ Cf. *op. cit.*, p. xxxv.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, 273.

⁵ II, 346–347.

⁶ *Ztft. f. d. A.*, nf. III, 466.

⁷ *Bib.*, I, 338–341.

⁸ *Ztft. f. d. A.*, XXIX, 54–64.

⁹ For a review of Müller's work see *Eng. St.*, XIX, 415 ff. This review is a good summary — and little else — of the dissertation.

¹⁰ I, 960 ff., 2d Ed., 1908.

¹¹ With the exception of Longfellow, no American up to the present time has published anything concerning the poem. Longfellow included in his *Poets and Poetry of Europe* the translation of Turner, and remarked

Examination reveals, first of all, several more or less clearly defined divisions.¹ The first group, 1-16*a*, is composed of sentences, almost the only connection between which is the bond of alliteration.² I see no reason for Brandl's interpretation assuming a design of the gnostic artist in placing first the king, "who, according to Bede, was of godlike origin," the giants, then the wind, thunder, fate, the four seasons, etc. I say, I see no reason for considering this an order of descent from higher to lower concepts, for the argument would work quite as well if applied to the gnomes in other arrangement. *Wyrd bið swīðost* occurs in the fifth line, for example; the young prince is delayed until line 14, though the king appears in the first line.³ Brandl thinks the whole collection approaches more nearly to the "spell" than does any other poetic remnant.⁴ Strobl seems nearer the mark in seeing in lines 1-41 a set of school exercises,⁵ yet I would not hold with him, much less with Müller, who thinks the close packing of prose gnomes is

on the similarity between the aphorisms and those that adorn a modern almanac. It may be said here that considerable investigation on the part of the writer revealed no further parallelism between Calendars of Saints and Modern Almanacs. And I have already indicated that juxtaposition of the *Menology* and *Gnomes* seems to be the result of accident.

¹ Müller divides them according to length: I, 1-49 "dessen länge über 2 langzeilen nicht hinausgeht." II, 5-66 "Komplexe, die mehr als 3 langzeilen einnehmen." — *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

² Ebert notes resemblance in this respect to "abcbüchern und kinderliedern." — *Allgemeine Geschichte*, III, 87 ff.

³ Brandl see Christ exalted in the midst of lines 1-14, which deal with myths "neben dem Christentum"; 14-41 "zählt auf, was zum Heldenleben gehört"; 41-49 "nennt wesen, die ausserhalb des göttlichen und des heldenmässigen kreisen stehen"; 59-66 "ist moralisierend." — *Op. cit.*, p. 960.

⁴ Cf. Schröder, *Ztft. f. d. A.*, XXXVII, 241.7]

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

"schulwerk."¹ For whereas Strobl characterizes 1-41 as artificial, it appears to me that lines 1-15*a* constitute the most unadorned and unaffectedly natural part of the poem. This passage of fifteen and a half lines, it is true, is corrupt, old material being mixed with new, but the number of sayings, the varying lengths of the lines, the lack of stilted balance, proclaim them to be comparatively free gnomes written in sequence. The poet pays homage to the sovereign in 1. The next two lines, 1*b*-3*a*, obviously prose if lifted from the context, reflect the old Germanic wonder at sight of the stone cities left by the Romans.² 3*b*-4*a* are distinct prose gnomes. 4*b* and 5*a* are distinct, Christ and Fate being put in opposition to each other, the predominance of the latter testifying to remote heathen origin. 5*b*-9 constitute an early calendar, comprising four seasons, and therefore suggesting later composition. (Cf. *Gn. Ex.* 72 ff.) 10 and 11*a* are also distinct: truth was highly prized by our forefathers, no less was treasure.³ 11*b*-12*a* hint at the reverence paid to the old and to the respect entertained for their opinions. 13 contains two unrelated gnomes, on

¹ "in metrisches gewand gezwängte prosagnomen," p. 24. Listening to such a collection would have tired speaker as well as hearer, Müller thinks.

² As late as 414, the islanders (Britons) were unable to erect a stone wall. Cf. Bede, *HE.* I, xii: "At insulani murum quem jussi fuerant, non tam lapidibus quem cespitibus construentes, utpote nullum tanti operis artificem habentes, ad nihil utilem statuunt." Tacitus, *Germania*, XVI, observes the ignorance of tile and mortar among the Germans; for all purposes they use timber roughly hewn.

³ Of jewels, or armlets and beakers of gold. The word suggests a time remote: Tacitus observed that the Germans knew nothing of coins, though they were learning their use from the Romans.

woe and clouds. 14-15, because of its regularity and polish, seems to be a later distich, suggesting the prince and his *comitatus*.

Lack of unity characterizes these lines, but hardly artificiality,¹ except in so far as crudeness of poetizing results in a decadent mixture which is neither prose nor verse. Quite otherwise is the analysis of 16*b*-41, where the hand of the artificer is evident. It is first noticeable that the purpose of these lines is to assign objects and persons their fitting places and duties: with the helmet the sword shall await battle; the good man shall work justice; the bear shall dwell on the heath; God shall be in heaven, judge of deeds. It is further to be observed that the passage is a mosaic of literary art. Beginning *ecg sceal wið hellme*, 16*b*, the author completes his line, *Ellen sceal on eorle*, 16*a*, with regard to alliterative effect; but the thought he carries over into line 17*a*, *hilde gebīdan*. Likewise 17*b*, *hafuc sceal on glōfe*, is connected with 17*a*, by alliteration, though it introduces a new gnome which is completed in 18*a*, *wilde gewunian*. It is further to be observed that the *b* half-line contains the essential prose gnome, the *a* half-line representing, as part of the pattern, an attempt at adornment. By tearing away these "poetic" additions, Müller distinguishes forty-four prose gnomes. As he suggests, the reviser of old material used the *b* line, because as prose his sayings would hardly show the alliterations demanded by the *a* line. They could have been changed so as

¹ Cf. Brooke, who describes ll. 1-9, 13-20*a*, and 50-55*a*, as "oldest and most interesting" of the *Gn. C. Eng. Lit. from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest*, p. 316.

to effect an alliteration, but then their character as gnomes would have been destroyed.¹

It is a plausible deduction, therefore, one hardly to be avoided, that the writer of these lines was performing an exercise in verse technic. From the store of old sentences that ascribe place or duty to object or person, he selected such as suited his purpose and bound them together as we find them. It is most likely that we have here an early example of what later became a popular employment with poets. A Norse Runic *fuporc* of the twelfth century² is in its composition more closely akin to this passage than to the Anglo-Saxon *Rune Poem*. Take, for instance, line 14 and compare it in thought and structure with the passage under observation. Or consider the *Skáldskaparmól* of the *Prose Edda* and the section of that rhetorical treatise which exhibits an exercise in verse-making. Employing alliteration, the skald weaves together the names of the giants, of kings, the various designations of sun, moon, and earth, of cattle, of fishes, of rivers, trees, weapons, — of things in general prominent in Old Norse cosmology.³

¹ Some in the *a* line have not double alliteration. Ten Brink's opinion should also be noted on this consistency in beginning a new maxim, or a chain of them, with the second or *b* half-line: "— deutet auf selbständige verarbeitung des im grunde doch alten materials für die zwecke des dichters." — *Op. cit.*, I, 81. In the *a* line we meet with the predicate and its object or adverbial modifier; or, more consistently with AS. idiom, we find a synonym of the subject in the preceding *b* line. Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

² Cf. *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, Vigfusson-Powell, Oxford, 1883, I, 369.

³ Of fishes, — Laks ok lánnga lýsa, brosma,
birtíngi, hæingr bust ok hrygna,
humarr, hrognkelsi, hveðnir, flóki,
ölun, örriði ok andvari.

— *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, Hafniae, 1848, I, 578.

In 41, the alliterative scheme breaks down, not to be resumed until 47*a*; then it vanishes finally in 49*b*. 41-47 point to an early origin: shower mixed with wind coming into the world, the thief, the *pyrs*, the woman's getting a husband, the foaming of the sea. 50-54 list contending forces, arranging them in pairs: good with evil, youth with age, — a matching indicative of the naïve interest which primitive mankind exhibited in contrasts.

The remainder of the poem, reflective and religious, is the addition of a Christian scribe. Such endings are common in Anglo-Saxon poetry: besides *Exeter Gnomes B* compare *Seafarer*, — which concludes with an admonition to prepare for eternal happiness and with thanks to the Prince of Glory, — and *Wanderer*, which recommends seeking mercy from the Heavenly Father.¹

That the pattern is torn and corrupt, that the heathen foundation is patched with Christian embroidery, — that there is absence of integrity must be plain from the preceding brief analysis. If we look more minutely at the material, we may observe definite indications of early origin. First, there are tokens of the old religion. *Wyrd*, *enta*, *pyrs*, — all relate directly to the beliefs and practices of heathen times, and in a vital fashion. *pyrs*, at least, has a local habitation; for he must dwell in the fen; cities are the work of giants, "who are in this earth"; "Wyrd is strongest." The second indication of age is visible in the work of the smith, who is patently

¹ Cf. also *Waldere*, *Phoenix*, *Juliana*, *Lament of the Fallen Angels*, and elsewhere.

present throughout. *Helme, sweord, īsern, bēagum, hringe, scyld, gim*, — these words, though used conventionally in late Anglo-Saxon times, by their comparatively large proportion here suggest the time when ring-giving was held in repute; when *bēah-gifa* was a synonym for prince; when shield, sword, helmet awaited battle.¹

The language, clearly West-Saxon, shows certain characteristics more usual in Late West-Saxon,² but they all occur in Alfredian prose, a fact which would seem to indicate that they are not necessarily distinctive of the later period.

When was the exercise written, and who wrote it? There are two possible choices: either we have a combination of a poem exceedingly old and a few lines of homiletic verse comparatively new; or we have a single poem composed under the conditions of changing belief. It may be argued that the propinquity of old and new, as *Wyrd byð swī ost* immediately after *þrymmas syndan Crīstes myccele*, is equivalent to a direct statement that heathendom and Christianity here side by side contested a place in literature, or shared it, because of shifting notions about the rulers of the world and consequent religions. If this is the case, however, heathendom still had supremacy, as the lines (see analysis) treat predominantly of ancient Germanic ideals, or in any case display a conspicuous

¹ Brandl notes the difference between the simple compounds of *Gn. C.* and the much later *Lehren des Vaters* combinations, which are more reflective. — *Op. cit.*, p. 963.

² *h* final, instead of *g*, appears in *beah* (*gife*), *beorh*, *gebeorh*, *wearh*; *nāeni*, instead of *nāenig*; svarabhakti vowels in *beaduwe* (earlier *beadwe*), *bearowe*; *woruld*, *worulde*, earlier *weorold*.

absence of Christian material, except in the definite places noted.

In favor of the former alternative is Christian interpolation in distinctly heathen poems, and the fact that in the Christianizing of Britain, old symbols were generally converted to new purposes. Heathen temples were turned to the service of Christianity: ¹ old poems of didactic character might easily be modified into vessels for essence of the true faith. It may be objected that in language the poem would be more nearly consistent if it were composed at one sitting; and since forms are quite uniform, then the first alternative is favored. But the answer to this point might be that a first or a second scribe may possibly have normalized the forms.

I have already stated that I believe the poem to be of West-Saxon or South-English origin, and though the scribes just mentioned might very well have changed Anglian or Northumbrian forms, yet if they had done so, there would probably be some trace of those dialects; if, on the contrary, old and new parts arose in the same dialect, it is again obvious that little normalization would have been needed by those hypothetical copyists.

The mingling of diverse elements, heathen and Christian, occurred late in Southern England. "While the faith shone with a steady light in distant Northumbria, Wessex was among the dark places of the earth." ²

¹ Cf. letter of Pope Gregory to Mellitus going into Britain, 601. "Quia, si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu dæmonum in obsequium veri Dei debeant commutari." — Bede, *HE.*, I, XXX. He adds that the idols were to be destroyed.

² *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, J. Stevenson, 1858, II, v ff.

Bede states¹ that in 640 the new faith was prevalent in Kent, but it seems to be also true that as late as 686 it had gained no footing in the Isle of Wight. The southern kingdoms held longest to the old worship of Woden, Thor, and other Teutonic deities. Abingdon was founded in 675. After the Council of Arles in 813, a steady effort was made in education, both of the clergy and the laity. These facts are significant, in connection with the gnomes under discussion; the heathen heritage was yet fresh in the memory of minds which were being dominated by the new religion. Some now forgotten monk with a crude gift for verse-making² roughly put together the two elements, — heathen and Christian, the second contribution being his own. Later, the verses may have been used as a school exercise; perhaps for copy-books, perhaps for memorization, possibly as a model for alliterative compositions.³

¹ *HE.*, III, viii.

² In the days when Cynewulf ascriptions flourished, Trautmann observed that for metrical reasons, Cynewulf could not be the author. Rieger (*op. cit.*) admitted that the verses are crude, but thought they might be in the poet's earlier style.

³ In searching for allied types, I have been interested in comparing with these verses the *Viaticum* of Llevoed Wynebglawr (Red Book of Hergest, xxiv.). He may have flourished near the beginning of the tenth century. Cf. *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, W. Skene, 1868.

II

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS¹

An.	<i>Andreas.</i>
Angl.	<i>Anglia.</i>
Arch.	<i>Archæologia.</i>
Archiv.	<i>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.</i>
AS.	Anglo-Saxon.
Bei.	<i>Beiblatt.</i>
Beo.	<i>Beowulf</i> , Ed. Heyne-Socin, revised by L. L. Schücking, Paderborn, 1908.
Bib.	Grein-Wülker, <i>Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie.</i>
BB.	<i>Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik.</i>
B.-T.	Bosworth-Toller, <i>Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.</i>
B.-T., supp.	<i>Ibid.</i> , <i>Supplement Part I, A-Eorp.</i>
B.	Bouterwek, K., <i>Cædmons des Angelsachsen Biblische Dichtungen</i> , Gutersloh, 1854.
Brandl.	Brandl, A., <i>Geschichte der Altenglischen Literatur</i> , in Paul's <i>Grundriss der germanischen Philologie</i> , Vol. II, 2d edition, 1908.
Brooke.	Brooke, S. A., <i>English Literature from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest</i> , New York, 1898.
Chr.	<i>Christ.</i>
C.	Conybeare, J. J., <i>Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry</i> , London, 1826.
C.-S.	Cook-Sievers, <i>Grammar of Old English</i> , 3d edition, Boston, 1903.
Cos.	Cosijn, P., <i>Altwestsächsische Grammatik</i> , Haag, 1883.
DAK.	Müllenhoff, K., <i>Deutsche Altertumskunde</i> , Berlin, 1870-1900.
Ea.	Earle, J., <i>Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel</i> , Oxford, 1865.
E.E.T.S.	<i>Early English Text Society.</i>
Eb.	Ebeling, F. W., <i>Angelsächsisches Lesebuch</i> , Leipzig, 1847.
Edd.	Editors.

¹ Citations of texts not otherwise registered are from the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek*

El.	<i>Elene.</i>
Eng. St.	<i>Englische Studien.</i>
Ettm.	Ettmüller, L., <i>Engla and Seaxna Scopas and Boceras</i> , Quedlinburgii et Lipsiæ, 1850.
Ex.	<i>Exodus.</i>
Fox.	Fox, S., <i>Menologium</i> , London, 1830.
Gen.	<i>Genesis.</i>
Gn. C.	<i>Cotton Gnomes.</i>
Gn. Ex.	<i>Exeter Gnomes.</i>
Gr.	Grein, C., <i>Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie</i> , Göttingen, 1857.
Gr ² .	Grein, <i>Zur Textkritik der Angelsächsischen Dichter</i> , in <i>Germania</i> , X, 1865.
Grendon.	Grendon, F., <i>The Anglo-Saxon Charms</i> , in <i>Journal of American Folk-lore</i> , Vol. XXII, No. 84, 1909.
Grund.	Wülker, R. P., <i>Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur</i> , Leipzig, 1885.
Guth.	<i>Guthlac.</i>
H.	Hickes, G., <i>Thesaurus</i> , Oxford, 1705.
HE.	Baedæ, Venerabilis, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum</i> , Ed. Plummer, Oxford, 1896.
Holt.	Holthausen, F., <i>Zur Textkritik Altenglischer Dichtungen</i> , in <i>Eng. St.</i> , XXXVII, 1906-1907.
Holt ² .	Holthausen, <i>Zur Altenglischen Litteratur</i> , in <i>Anglia Beiblatt</i> , XXI, 1910.
Icel.	<i>Icelandic.</i>
JEG. Ph.	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology.</i>
Jul.	<i>Juliana.</i>
Kl.	Kluge, F., <i>Angelsächsisches Lesebuch</i> , Halle, 1888.
Koegel.	Koegel, R., <i>Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur</i> , Strassburg, 1894-1897.
Kr.	Krapp, G. P., <i>Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles</i> , Boston, 1906.
Ma.	March, F. A., <i>Anglo-Saxon Reader</i> , New York, 1879.
Men.	<i>Menologium.</i>
Met.	<i>Metres</i> of Boethius.
Meyer.	Meyer, R. M., <i>Altgermanische Poesie</i> , Berlin, 1889.
ME.	<i>Middle English.</i>
Mn. E.	<i>Modern English.</i>

- MLN. *Modern Language Notes.*
M. Ph. *Modern Philology.*
Mü. Müller, H., *Über die Angelsächsischen Versus Gnomici*, Jena, 1893.
- NED. *New English Dictionary.*
- OEE. Gummere, F. B., *Oldest English Epic*, New York, 1909.
OHG. Old High German.
ON. Old Norse.
Oros. *Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Orosius*, translated by B. Thorpe (in Pauli's *Life of Alfred the Great*, 1900).
OS. Old Saxon.
- PBB. Paul and Braune's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur.*
- Pl. Plummer, C., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (on the basis of Earle's Edition), Oxford, 1892-1899.
- PMLA *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.*
- Ps. *Psalms*, Ed. Grein-Wülker (in the *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa*), Hamburg, 1910.
- Rid. *Riddles.*
- Rie. Rieger, M., *Über Cynewulf in Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, I, 1869 (for Gn. Ex. A).
Rie. Rieger, M., *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, 1861 (for Gn. Ex. B).
- Sch. Schipper, J., *Zum Codex Exoniensis*, in *Germania*, XIX, 1874.
- Schmitz. Schmitz, T., *Die Sechstakter in der Altenglischen Dichtung*, in *Angl.*, XXXIII, 1910.
- Seaf. *Seafarer.*
- Sh. Shipley, G., *The Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, Baltimore, 1903.
- Siev. Sievers, E., *Rhythmik des Alliterationsverses*, in PBB., XII, 1887.
- Siev². Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik*, Halle, 1893.
- Sol. and Sat. *Solomon and Saturn.*
- Spr. Grein, *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, Cassel and Göttingen, 1861.]
- Str. Strobl, J., *Zur Spruchdichtung bei den Angelsachsen*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XXXI, n.f. XIX, 1887.
- Sw. Sweet, H., *An Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 1894
The Oldest English Texts, 1885
The Student's Dictionary, 1897

} References indicate work.

T.	Turner, S., <i>History of the Anglo-Saxons</i> , London, 1805.
Ten Br.	Ten Brink, B., <i>Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur</i> , Berlin, 1877.
Th.	Thorpe, B., <i>Codex Exoniensis</i> , London, 1842.
Tupper.	Tupper, F., Jr., <i>The Riddles of the Exeter Book</i> , New York, 1910.
Wand.	<i>Wanderer</i> .
Wa.	Wanley, in Vol. II, Hicckes' <i>Thesaurus</i> .
Weinhold.	Weinhold, K., <i>Altnordisches Leben</i> , Berlin, 1856.
Wr.	Wright, J., <i>Old English Grammar</i> , Oxford, 1908.
Ztft. f. d. A.	<i>Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum</i> .
Ztft. f. d. Phil.	<i>Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie</i> .

III

EXETER GNOMES

- A** Exeter Manuscript, Folios 88b-90a; in this text, lines 1-71 inclusive.
B Folios 90a-91a; lines 72-138.
C Folios 91a-92b; lines 139-206.

A¹

- (88b) Frige mec frōdum wordum : ne lāet þinne ferð onhǣlne,
 dēgol þæt þū dēopost cunne. Nelle ic þē mīn dyrne
 gesecean,
 gif þū mē þinne hygecræft hylest and þine heortan
 geþohtas.
 Glēawe men sceolon gieddum wrixlan. God sceal mon
 ærest hergan,
 5 fægre, fæder ūserne, forþon þe hē ūs æt frympe getēode
 lif and lēanne willan : hē ūs ic wile þāra lēana gemonian.
 Meotud sceal in wuldre. Mon sceal on eorþan ;
 geong ealdian. God ūs ēce biþ :
 ne wendað hine wyrda, ne hine wiht drecep
 10 ādl (89a) ne ylðo ælmihtigne ;
 ne gomela hē in gæste, ac hē is gēn swā hē wæs,
 þēoden geþyldig ; hē ūs geþonc syleð,
 missenlicu mōd, monge reorde.
 Feorhcylnna fela fæpmeþ wīde
 15 ēglond monig. Eardas rūme
 meotud ārārde for moncynne,
 ælmihtig god, efenfela bēga

1. Th. would substitute bihelan
 for onhǣlne, or deglian, diglian, for
 dēgol.

3. Gr. overlooks mē.
 12. Gr. þonc, for geþonc.
 13. Th. mon-gereorde.

¹ In citations from other editors some liberty has been taken by way of
 normalization ; for example, v is changed to w. If editors omit marks
 of quantity, none are used here except to prevent ambiguity.

- þeoda and þeawa. Þing sceal gehēgan
 frōd wið frōdne; biþ hyra ferð gelic;
 10 hī ā sace sēmaþ; sibbe gelærað,
 þā ær wonsælge āwegen habbað.
 Ræd sceal mid snyttro; ryht mid wīsum;
 til sceal mid tilum. Tū beoð gemæccan.
 Sceal wif and wer in woruld cennan
 25 bearn mid gebyrdum. Bēam sceal on eorðan
 lēafum lifan, leomu gnornian.
 Fūs sceal fēran, fæge sweltan
 and dōgra gehwām ymb gedāl sacan
 middangeardes. Meotud āna wāt
 30 hwær sē cwealm cymeþ, þe heonan of cýpþe gewīteþ.
 Umbor yceð, þā ær ādl nimeð;
 þý weorpeð on foldan swā fela fīra cynnes,
 ne sý þæs magutimbres gemet ofer eorþan,
 gif hī ne wanige sē þās woruld tēode.
 35 Dol biþ sē þe his dryhten nāt, tō þæs oft cymeð dēað
 unpinged.
 Snotre men sawlum beorgað, healdað hýra sōð mid rihte.
 Eadig bið sē þe in his ēple geþīhð; earm sē him his
 frýnd geswīcað;
 nēfre sceal sē him his nest āspringeð: nýd[e] sceal prāge
 (89b) gebunden.
 Blīpe sceal bealolēas hēorte. Blind sceal his ēagna polian:
 40 oftigen biþ him torhtre gesihþe; ne magon hī ne tunglu
 bewitian
 swegltorht, sunnan ne mōnan: þæt him biþ sār in his
 mōde,
 ange þonne hē hit āna wāt, ne wēneð þæt him þæs
 edhwyrft cyme;
 waldend him þæt wīte tēode: sē him mæg wyrpe syllan,

18. Gr². gehēgan; Edd. gehegan.

26. Th. suggests lifan? leomu
growan?

31. Th. ær ādl, so Gr. ær ādl but
Gr². ærād, so W.

38. Edd. nýd, except Holt.
nýd[e], and Gr. nýð = noð
liburna?

40. bewitian: i over the line.
Sch. "von anderer hand." W.
"von andrer hand?"

41. Th. swegl-torht-sunnan.

42. MS. onge, Th. on ge þon, Gr.
on ge þon he, and notes: "onge
(vgl. onga aculeus) und þonne?"
Gr². onge, þon (þonne?) he . . .

- hæle of hēofodgimme, gif hē wāt heortan clæne.
 45 Lēf mon lāces behōfað. Læran sceal mon geongne
 monnan,
 trymman and tyhtan, þæt hē teala cunne,
 oþ þæt hine mon ātemedne hæbbe,
 sylle him wist and wædo, oþ þæt hine mon on gewitte
 alæde.
 Ne sceal hine mon cildgeongne forcweþan, ær hē hine
 ācýpan mōte:
 50 þý sceal on þēode geþēon, þæt hē wese prīsthycgende.
 Stýran sceal mon strongum mōde. Storm oft holm
 gebringeð,
 geofen in grimmum sælum; onginnað grome fundian
 fealwe on feorran tō londe; hwæper hē fæste stonde:
 weallas him wipre healdað; him bið wind gemæne.
 55 Swā biþ sǣ smilte,
 þonne hý wind ne weceð,
 swā bēoþ þēode geþwære, þonne hý geþingad habbað,
 gesittað him on gesundum þingum and þonne mid
 gesiþum healdaþ.
 Cēne men gecynde rīce. Cyning biþ anwealdes georn.
 60 Lāð sē þe londes monað, lēof sē þe mære bēodeð.
 prym sceal mid wlenco, prīste mid cēnum,
 sceolun bū recene beadwe fremman.
 Eorl sceal on ēos bōge, eōrod (90a) sceal getrume rīdan,
 fæste fēpa stondan. Fæmne æt hyre bordan gerīseð;
 65 wīdgongel wif word gespringeð, oft hý mon wommum
 bilihð,
 hæleð hý hospe mænað, oft hyre hlēor ābreōpeð.

Siev. onge þon hē. MS. distinctly
 þon = þonne.

44. Th. -gimmum? Gr. on hea-
 fodgimme.

45. Th. lefmon.

Before l. 47, W. thinks there is
 a loss, though, as he admits, the
 MS. shows no gap.

48. Th. queries alæte? for alæde.

49. MS. cildgeongne, Edd. cild-
 geong ne. See note.

50. Gr. queries þy = þiw, þeow?

52. Gr. queries fandian?

53. Th. onfaran. Th. queries
 stondeð? Gr. queries hit?

63. MS. worod, Edd. eorod.

65. Gr. word, weord corruptio,
 damnum? Th. queries ge-
 sprenged? Etm. belihð; prob-
 ably a misprint, since he fol-
 lows Th.

66. Th. abreoteð.

Sceomiande man sceal in sceade hweorfan, scīr in leohte
gerīseð.

Hond sceal heofod inwyrcean, hord in strēonum bīdan;
gīfstōl gegierwed stondan, hwonne hine guman gedælen.

70 Gīfre bīp sē pām golde onfēhð, guma þæs on hēahsetle
geneah.

Lēan sceal, gif wē lēogan nellað, pām þe ūs pās lisse
getēode.

B

Forst sceal frēosan, fȳr wudu meltan,
eorpe grōwan, is brycgian,

wæter helm wegan, wundrum lūcan
75 eorþan cīpas : ān sceal inbindan
forstes fetre, fela-mehtig god;
winter sceal geweorpan, weder eft cuman,
sumor swegle hāt. Sund unstill.

Dēop dēada wæg dyrne bið lengest.
80 Holen sceal in æled. Yrfe gedæled
dēades monnes. Dōm bīp sēlast.

Cyning sceal mid cēape cwēne gebicgan,
būnum and bēagum : bū sceolon ærest
geofum gōd wasan. Gūð sceal in eorle,

85 wīg geweaxan, and wīf geþēon
lēof mid hyre lēodum, lēohtmōd wasan,
rūne healdan, rūmheort bēon

68. Ettm. heafod, Gr. heofod
plausus? W. "ich fasse heofod
als dialekt," Rie. heafod inwrihan.
Th. queries gestreonum? Rie.
screonum.

69. Instead of hwonne, Gr. and
Rie. read gif.

70. Gr. gīfre = vorax, Rie.
gīfre = gratus.

For 70b Rie. gīfeð man þæs on
heahsetle geneahhe.

73. Th. queries breacan?

74. Edd. wæterhelm, Th. wæter-
helm, but queries wæter-holm?

75. C. anbindan, Th. queries
unbindan?

76. Ettm. fetru, apparently after
Th.'s query fetru? H. meagtig.

78. Th. swegle; but offers swe-
gel-, or swegl-.

79. C. dyme, misprint; Th.
queries weg? Holt. ofen.

80. Th. in æleð.

81. C. se last.

82. Ettm. gebycgan.

83. C. scealon.

85. Gr². wīgge (= wīgē) weaxan.

86. Ettm. leof, so later Edd.

- mēarum and mǣpmum; meodorǣdenne,
 for gesiðmægen, symle æghwær,
 90 eodor æþelinga ærest gegrētan,
 (90b) forman fulle tō frēan hond
 ricene geræcan, and him ræd witan
 boldāgendum bām ætsomne.
 Scip sceal genægled, scyld gebunden,
 95 lēoht linden bord. Lēof wilcuma
 Frysan wife, þonne flota stondeþ :
 bið his cēol cumen and hyre ceorl tō hām,
 āgen ætgeofa, and hēo hine in laðað,
 wæsceð his wārig hrægl and him syleþ wāde nīwe:
 100 līþ him on londe, þæs his lufu bādeð.
 Wif sceal wiþ wer wære gehealdan : oft hī mon wommum
 behlīð;
 fela bið fæsthȳdigra, fela bið fyrwetgeonra,
 103 frēoð hȳ fremde monnan, þonne sē oþer feor gewīteþ.
 Lida bið longe on sīpe : ā mon sceal sepēah lēofes wēnan,
 105 gebīdan þæs hē gebædan ne mæg; hwonne him eft
 gebyre weorðe,
 hām cymeð, gif he hāl leofað, nefne him holm gestȳreð;
 mere hafað mundum. Mægð ēgsan wyn.
 Cēap ēadig mon, cyning wīc þonne
 lēodon cȳpeþ, þonne līpan cymeð :

89. Th. queries -mægum? Etm.
 sorge siðmægen simle, Rie. for ge-
 siðmægon. MS. sorge sið mægen,
 not necessarily "gesið," as W.
 states. Gr. simle.

90. H., Th. æþelinge.

91. H. for man, Th. forman,
 but queries feorman or feorme?
 Etm handa, Slav. (*PBB.X*, 519)
 honda.

94. Etm. scild.

96. MS. frysan. H. þon, MS.
 þon = þonne.

97. H. misprints him for ham.

98. MS. inlaðað, so H., Th.,
 Etm.

100. Th. queries bidað?

101. Etm. brackets wiþ wer.
 Rie. omits 101b, Th. queries belið?

102. Th. fyrwet-geornra; Etm.
 fyrwitgeonra, Gr., Rie. fyrwet-
 geornra, W. emends fyrwetgeorna.

103. H. þon, MS. þon.

104. Etm. man.

107. MS. egsan, so H., Th., Etm.
 Th. queries eгна (eagena)? Gr.
 Mere hafað mundum mægð, egsan
 wyn, but notes: wyn = win, gewin?
 Oder egsa, ægsa = Alts. ēgso pos-
 sessor? Gr². ēgsan, Rie. eagna,
 W., Holt. ēgna.

108. Holt. cēape, H. þon.

109. Etm. leodum cepeþ, . . .
 lida.

- 110 wuda and wætres nyttað, þonne him biþ wic ālyfed;
mete bygeþ gif hē māran þearf, ær þon hē tō mēpe
weorpe.
Sēoc sē biþ, þe tō seldan ieteð; þeah hine mon on sun-
nan lāde,
ne mæg hē be þȳ wedre wesan, þeah hit sȳ wearm on
sumera;
ofercumen biþ hē, ær hē ācwele, gif hē nāt hwā hine
cwicne fēde.
- 115 Mægen mon sceal mid mete fēdan, (91a) morþor under
eorþan befēolan,
hinder under hrūsan, þe hit forhelan penceð;
ne biþ þæt gedēfe dēaþ, þonne hit gedyrned weorpeð.
Hēan sceal gehnīgan, ādl gesīgan,
ryht rogian. Ræd biþ nyttost,
120 yfel unnyttost, þæt unlæd nimeð.
Gōd bið genge, and wiþ god lenge.
Hyge sceal gehealden, hond gewealden;
sēo sceal in ēagan, snyttro in brēostum,
þær bið þæs monnes mōdgeþoncas.
- 125 Mūpa gehwyle mete þearf, mæl sceolon tīdum gongan.
Gold gerīseþ on gumān sweorde,
sellic sigesceorp, sinc on cwēne;
gōd scop gumum, gārniþ werum,
wīg tōwīpre wicfreoþa healdan.
- 130 Scyld sceal cempa, sceaft rēafere,
sceal brȳde bēag, bēc leornere,
hūs hālgum men, hāpnum synne.
Wōden worhte wēos, wuldor alwālda,
rūme roderas; þæt is rīce god,

110. H. þon, Ms. alyfeð, Edd. alyfed.

111. W. notes: MS. weoþe; it is, however, clearly weorpe.

112. H. ietað, Th. notes eteð.

114. H. a cwele.

118. H. gehingan. Th. adlige sigan, Gr. Die alliteration fordert hadl; etwa haðu, heaðu? Holt. hadl = heald.

125. H. þearfe. Ettm. begins a new line with gongan.

128. Th. gar niþ-werum, Ettm. gar niðwerum, Rie. gar niþwerum.

129. Ettm. wic freoðu, Gr. wicfreoðu.

132. H. hus.

133. Rie. alwaldan, B. wuldora alwalda.

- 135 sylf sōðcýning, sǽwla nergend,
 sē ūs eal forgeaf, þæt wē on lifgaþ,
 and eft æt þām ende eallum wealdeð
 monna cynne; þæt is meotud sylfa.

C

- Rǣd sceal mon seegan, rūne wrītan,
 140 lēoþ gesingan, lofes gearnian,
 — dōm āreccan, dægcs ðnettan.
 Til mon tiles and tomes mēares,
 cūpes and gecostes and calcrondes:
 nǣnig fira tō fela gestryneð.
 145 Wel mon sceal wine healdan on wega gehwylcum:
 oft mon (91b) fēreð feor bī tūne, þær him wāt frēond
 unwiotodne.
 Winelēas, wonsǣlig mon genimeð him wulfas tō gefēran;
 felafǣcne dēor ful oft hine sē gefēra sliteð;
 gryre sceal for grēggum; grǣf dēadum men.
 150 Hungre hēofeð; nales þæt hēafe bewindeð,
 ne hūru wæl wēpeð wulf sē grǣga,
 morþorcwealm mægga, ac hit ā mǣre wille.
 Wrǣd sceal wunden; wracu heardum men.
 Boga sceal strǣle; sceal bām gelic
 155 mon tō gemæccan. Mǣppum ðpres weorð,
 gold mon sceal gifan; mæg god syllan
 eadgum æhte and eft niman.
 Sele sceal stondan, sylf ealdian.
 Licgende bēam lǣsest grōweð.
 160 Trēo sceolon brǣdan and trēow weaxan,
 sīo geond bilwitra brēost ārīseð.

136. Rie. þær, for þæt.
 138. H. monne. Ettm. silfa.
 140. MS. leofes, Edd. lofes, H.
 gearman, Gr. gearnian = geearnian
 oder geornian?
 145. Ettm. wel sceal mon.
 146. W. errs in placing 91b be-
 tween tūne and þær.

147. Ettm., Siev. wulf.
 148. Ettm. frecne.
 152. Ettm. mecca.
 153. Th. "better wræð," so Ettm.
 158. Ettm. silfer ealdjan? i.e.
 argentum senescere.
 160. Ettm., W. Treo sceal on
 brædan. Th. queries treowu?

Wærlēas mon and wonhȳdig,
 ætrenmōd and ungetrēow :
 þæs ne gȳmeð god.

165 Fela scēop meotud þæs þe fyrrn gewearð, hēt siþpan swā
 forð wesan.

Wæra gehwylcum wīslīcu word gerīsað,
 glēomen gied and guman snyttro.
 Swā monig bēop men ofer eorþan, swā bēop mōdgeponcas :
 ælc him hafað sundor sefan longað ;

170 þonne þȳ lās þe him con lēopa worn
 oppe mid hondum con hearpan grētan,
 hafaþ him his glīwes giefē, þe him god sealde.

Earm biþ sē þe sceal āna lifgan,
 wineleas wunian hafaþ him wȳrd getēod :

175 betre him wære þæt hē brōpor āhte, bēgen hī ānes
 monnes,

eorle eaforan (92a) wæran, gif hī sceoldan efor onginnan
 oppe bēgen beran : biþ þæt slīpherde dēor.

Ā scyle þā rincas gerædan lædan
 and him ætsomne swefan :

180 nāfre hȳ mon tō mon tō mædle,
 ær hȳ dēað tōdæle.

Hȳ twēgen sceolon tæfle ymsittan, penden him hȳra
 torn tōglīde,

forgietan þāra gēocran gesceafte, habban him gomen on
 borde ;

162. Holt.² mon[na].

163. Holt.² ungetreow[e].

164. Gr. gȳmed, Gr.² gȳmeð.

165. Holt. Fela meotud [ge]
 scēop.

166. Th., Etm., Gr. wera. Sch.
 gehwylcu, W. "Hs. hat gehwylcu."
 Wrong, MS. has gehwylcū. Etm.
 wīslīcu word gerīsað wera gehwyl-
 cum, and notes, multa desunt.

167. Holt. gied[ding].

168. Etm. monige.

171. Etm. handum.

176. W. errs in placing 92a at
 beginning of line. Th. queries

eorlice? Etm. writes: eorles
 wæren eaforan, and queries on-
 winnan? W. eorles. Holt. eorlas.
 Etm., Gr. sceoldon.

177. Th. notes -hearde. So Etm.

178. Etm., Gr. scylen. Gr.
 omits þā. Th. queries geræd
 rædan? Etm. geræd onlædan.

179. Etm. omits him.

180. Th. mæðle, Holt. tōmædle.

182. Str. A sceolon twegen.
 Etm. hire.

183. Th. notes þære. Etm.,
 Siev². gesceafta, so Gr., who inserts
 him before þāra.

- Idle hond æmetian genēah
 185 tæfles monnes, þonne teoselum weorpeð
 seldan in sidum cēole, nefne hē under segle yrne.
 wērig sceal sē wiþ winde rōweþ: ful oft mon wearnum tihð
 eargne, þæt hē elne forlēose, drūgað his ār on borde.
 Lot sceal mid lyswe, list mid gedēfum :
 190 þȳ weorpeð sē stān forstolen :
 oft hȳ wordum tōweorpað,
 ær hȳ bacum tōbrēden.
 Geara is hwær āræd.
 Wearð fæhþo fȳra cynne, sippan furpum swealg
 195 eorðe Ābeles blōde: næs þæt āndæge nið,
 of þam wrōhtdropan wīde gesprungon,
 micel mǣn ældum, monegum þeodum
 bealoblonden nīþ. Slōg his brō [ðor] swæsne
 Cain, þone cwealm neredē; cūþ wæs wīde sippan,
 200 þæt ēce nið ældum scōd, swā apolwarum ;
 drugon wæpna gewin wīde geond eorþan,
 āhogodan and āhyrdon heoro slīpendne.
 Gearo sceal gūðbord, gār on sceafte,
 ecg on sweorde and ord spere,
 205 hyge heardum men. Helm sceal cēnum
 And ā (92b) þæs hēanan hyge hord unginnoſt.

184. MS. Idle hond æmet lange neah, Ettm. emtað lange neah tæfmonnes. Gr. longe and omits neah; Gr.² longe neah. Holt. idle hond is lange æmet[ig][ge]neah [he].

187. Ettm., Gr., W. scealc instead of sceal se. The MS. is clear.

193. Str. arod.

197. MS. mon, Th. suggests mǣn, so Gr.

198. In the MS. bro comes at the end of a line; Th. bro-swæsne, Gr. broðor, so W.

199. Th. queries nydde? Gr. queries serede?

200. Th. queries atol werum?

202. Th. queries slitendne?

206. W. errs in placing 92b at beginning of line.

COTTON GNOMES

Cotton Manuscript, Tiberius, B. 1.

- 115a Cyning sceal rice healdan. Ceastra bēoð feorran gesȳne,
 orðanc enta geweore, þā þe on pysse eorðan syndon,

1. Edd. except Pl. 113a.

2. Eb. cyndon, Ettm., Kl. sindon.

wrætlīc weallstāna geweorc. Wind byð on lyfte swiftust,
þunar byð þrāgum hlūdast. Þrymmas syndan Crīstes
mycele.

- 5 Wyrð byð swīðost. Winter byð cealdost;
lencten hrīmīgost, hē byð lengest ceald;
sumor sunwligost, swegel byð hātost,
hærfest hrēðeægost; hæleðum bringeð
gēres wæstmas þā þe him god sendeð.
- 10 Sōð bið switolost, sine byð dēorost,
gold gumena gehwām, and gomol snoterost,
fyrngēarum frōd, sē þe ær feala gebīdeð.
Wēa bið wundrum clibbor. Wolcnu scrīðað.
Geongne æpeling sceolan gōde gesīðas
- 15 byldan tō beaduwe and tō bēahgife.
Ellen sceal on eorle. Ecg sceal wið hellme
hilde gebīdan. Hafuc sceal on glōfe
wilde gewunian; wulf sceal on bearowe,
earn ānhaga; eofor sceal on holte
- 20 tōðmægenes trum. Til sceal on ēðle
dōmes wyrcean. Daroð sceal on handa,
gār golde fāh. Gim sceal on hringe
standan stēap and gēap. Strēam sceal on ȳðum

4. Gr., Sw. þunor. Here, as elsewhere, however, Sw. shows also MS. form. Ettm. sindon, mycle.

7. Ettm. sunwligost. Gr. swegl.

9. F., Eb. follow H. in printing geref; Ettm. corrects, geres; in H. as W. comments, "doch nur druckfehler, er übers. anni fructus." Siev., W., Kl., Pl. geares. Siev. and Pl. note that the *a* written over the line is by a later hand, W. "Hs. geres mit übergeschriebnem a, also = geares." If the reddish, circular character was intended for *a*, it was inserted by a modern hand. Ea., Pl. westmas. Siev., Pl. understand him corrected by later hand, biom. But W. cor-

rectly, "ein runder fleck, kein o."

10. MS. swicolost, Sw. suggests swutolost.

11. Ettm. gamol snotrost.

12. H., C., Eb. fyru gearum, misprint; cf. note on geres. F. observes this error, commenting on Lye's inclusion of fyru. Gr. fela.

14. Edd. before Ea., geonge. Ettm. āðelingas sceolon.

15. Eb. beab gife, misprint.

16. H., F., Eb. scel wið helme. Ettm., Gr., W., Sw. helme.

19. MS., Ea., Pl. earn an haga. "Ettm. ändert in earn anhaga, als beiwort zu wulf," W., who follows, as Gr., Sw. had done. H., F., Eb. Ofor.

- meccan mereflōde. Mæst sceal on cēole
 25 segelgyrd seomian. Sweord sceal on bearme
 drihtlic isern. Draca sceal on hlāwe
 frōd, frætwum wlanc. Fisc sceal on wætere
 cynren cennan. Cyning sceal on healle
 bēagas dālan. Bera sceal on hǣðe
 30 eald and egesfull. Eā of dūne sceal
 flōdgræg fēran. Fyrd sceal ætsomne,
 tīrfæstra getrum. Trēow sceal on eorle,
 wīsdōm on were. Wudu sceal on foldan
 blædum blōwan. Beorh sceal on eorþan
 35 grēne standan. God sceal on heofenum
 dæda dēmend. Duru sceal on healle,
 rūm recedes mūð. Rand sceal on scylde,
 fæst fingra gebeorh. (115b) Fugel uppe sceal
 lācan on lyfte. Leax sceal on wæle
 40 mid scēote scrīðan. Scūr sceal on heofenum
 winde geblanden in þās woruld cuman.
 Þeof sceal gangan þýstrum wederum. Þýrs sceal on
 fenne gewunian
 āna innan lande. Ides sceal dyrne cræfte,
 fāmne hire frēond gesēcean, gif hēo nelle on folce
 geþeon,
 45 þæt hī man bēagum gebiege. Brim sceal sealte weallan,
 lyfthelm and laguflōd ymb ealra landa gehwylc
 flōwan firgenstrēamas. Feoh sceal on eorðan

24. H., F., Eb., Gr., Ea., Pl. follow MS. Ettm. queries *mengan*, Sw. *mencgan*, so Kl.

28. H., F., Eb. *cynran cennen*, misprint.

31. H., F., Eb., Ettm., Gr., Sw. fold græg. Gr.² queries *flōdgræg*? Ea., Pl. *flod græg*, Siev., W. *flodgræg*. H., F., Eb., Ettm. æt somne.

32. Ettm., *tyr fæstra*. Edd. *treow*, but MS. shows a dot under *o*.

34. Gr. *beorg*.

35. Ettm. *heofonum*.

38. Edd. except Pl. 113b.

39. Ettm. *wele*.

40. *i* in *scrīðan* inserted by later hand. Sw. of *heofenum*.

42. Eb. *þýrstrum*. Ettm. inserts *fæste* before *gewunian*, noting, "deest apud H." Ea. *geþunian*, and notes, "gewunian weakens the sense and destroys the alliteration."

44. H., F., Eb., Gr. *femne*. H., F., Eb., Gr. *geseccan*, Gr. queries *gefeccan*, Gr.² *gesēccan*.

45. H., F., Eb., Ettm., *gebycge*.

H., F., Eb., Gr. *sealt*.

46. H., F., Eb. *land*.

tȳdran and tȳman. Tungol sceal on heofenum
beorhte scēnan, swā him bebēad meotud.

- 50 Gōd sceal wið yfele, geogoð sceal wið ylde,
lif sceal wið dēape, lēoht sceal wið þȳstrum,
fȳrd wið fȳrde, fēond wið oðrum,
lāð wið lāpe ymb land sacan,
synne stælan. Ā sceal snotor hycgean
55 ymb þysse worulde gewinn; wearh hangian,
fægere ongildan, þæt hē ær fācen dyde
manna cynne. Meotod āna wāt
hwyder sēo sāwul sceal syððan hweorfan
and ealle þā gāstas, þe for gode hweorfað
60 æfter dēaðdæge; dōmes bidað
on fæder fæðme. Is sēo forðgesceaft
dīgol and dyrne; drihten āna wāt,
nergende fæder. Nāeni eft cymeð
hider under hrōfas, þe þæt hēr forsōð
65 mannum secge, hwyle sȳ meotodes gesceaft,
sigefolca gesetu, þær hē sylfa wunað.

50. H., F., Eb., Gr. ylde, Ettm.
ilde.

51. Eb. þȳrstrum.

54. Ea. ycgean.

56. Gr. queries feore? fæge?
Ettm. dide.

57. Ettm. meotud.

60. Sw. offers bīdan, as better
than bidað.

63. Eb. misprints mergende.
Ettm. nānig.

64. Ea. ends the line with hēr.

66. H., F., Eb., Gr. geseta.

IV

NOTES ON GNOMIC VERSES¹

EXETER GNOMES

A

1. *Frige mec=interroga me.* Cf. *Ps.* 138, 23.

1b-2a. Do not let thy thought [be] hidden, the mystery that thou most thoroughly mayst know.—Understand *wesan* after *læt*. Cf. B.-T., p. 613, *Spr.*, I, 281, (*ferð*) *occultum esse*. Gr. "ich vermute ein adj. onhæl, absconditus." Th. sees in *onhæln*e the meaning 'unsound.'

4a. W. agrees with Th. in conceiving the *a*-line to be the end of the introduction, the *b*-line the beginning of the gnomes. I hold with Gr. in beginning the gnomes with *glēawe*. *gieddum*: cf. B.-T., p. 474 (*gied*), "As Old English or Saxon proverbs, riddles, and particular speeches were generally metrical and their historians were bards, hence, a speech, tale, sermon, proverb, riddle." Cf. above, (p. 87) and see Merbot, *Aesthetische Studien zur Angelsächsischen Poesie*, Breslau, 1883, p. 19 ff.

4b-5a. God shall one first praise, becomingly, our Father. Th., 'God before all must one praise fervently.' I follow Gr.'s punct., not W.'s. Cf. Virgil's *In primis venerare deos* (*Georgics*, I, 338).

5b. *æt frympe getēode*, in the beginning assigned. Cf. *Chr.* 776-777: . . . *se ūs ūf forgeaf | Leomu, tīc and gæst*. Cf. *Met.* 11⁸⁸.

6b. He will remind us of those gifts. Cf. *Gen.* 2933 ff.

7b-8a. Gr. has no punct. after *eorþan*, so that a translation of his text must read, 'Man shall on earth grow old.' So Mü. W. places a comma after *eorþan*. Th. places a semicolon after the translation of *eorþan*, a punct. which seems to me not only to break properly the gnome, 'Man shall (dwell) on earth,' from the following, 'The young shall grow old'; but also throws strongly into contrast 7a with 7b, and 8a with 8b. Str. favors this reading.

9a. Cf. this line with 5a, *Gn. C.* God has here become stronger than Wyrd: the fates affect him not.

¹ See p. 114 for list of abbreviations. In these notes double quotation marks are employed for indicating words of other authors, single quotation marks for representing translations made by them or implied by their texts. Readings of the present editor are not designated by quotation marks at all.

9b-10a. Nor doth one whit trouble him disease nor age, the Almighty. Cf. *Beo.*, 1736-1737: *nō hine wiht dweleð, | ādl ne yldo*. Th., 'nor doth aught afflict him.' B.-T., p. 1222, glosses *wiht*, 'thing.' My translation is in harmony with Gr., who places no comma after *dreceþ*. W. inserts a comma.

11a. *gomelað*, not given in B.-T. *Spr.*, I, 366, *gamelian, inveterascere*. O. B. Schlutter writes at length about this word in *Eng. St.*, XLI, 455. He suggests its resemblance to Celtic *gam* = *winter*, and to Frisian *gammelje* = *kränkeln*.

12a. *þeoden*, found almost exclusively in poetry. Cf. B.-T., p. 1048; *Spr.*, II, 586.

12b. *geþonc*, I read plu. Th. regards it as sing. — *syleð*, Cf. Wr., §§ 254, 276.

13. Different dispositions, many tongues. MS. *monge reorde*, so Gr. and Sch., but Th. divides, *mon-gereorde*, 'human speech.'

14b. *fæpmeþwide*, embraces far and wide. Th., 'in its wide embrace.'

17b-18a. Cf. *Troilus*, II, 28: *In sondry londes, sondry ben usages; Hending*, stanza 4: *Ase fele thedes, ase fele thewes*, and other parallels cited in Skeat's *E. E. Proverbs*, 1910, p. 66. Cf. also Skeat's introduction, p. 7, where he observes that this is a favorite proverb in most European languages, occurring in more than sixty forms.

18b. *þing gehēgan*, to have a meeting. Cf. B.-T., p. 399. Conventional expression in verse for holding a parliament or meeting (but cf. *Beo.* 425 ff.); it is not used in prose. Cf. *Sigrðrifomǫl*, 24.

20a. They ever settle dispute. Cf. B.-T., p. 862.

22-23. "—ein zusammengehöriges distichon, das an den vorhergehenden spruch des verwandten sinnes wegen angehängt ward. Auch 24-26 bilden keine fortsetzung [but cf. *gemæccan* with *cennan*], sind in sich aber schön und zusammengehörig: der geburt des menschen wird im bilde dessen endschicksal gegenübergestellt." — Str., *op. cit.* p. 56.

Out of 22a, 22b, 23a, 23b, I make four gnomes. Th. places a period after *tilum* and after *gemæccan*; Gr., a colon after *tilum*, a period after *gemæccan*; Gr², period after *tilum*, comma after *gemæccan*. Brandl sees in 23b an injunction to monogamy!

24-25a. Cf. *Fates of Men*, 2-3, *wer and wif in woruld cennað bearn mid gebyrdum*.

25b-26. A tree shall on earth suffer as to its leaves, lament its branches. Cf. *Gn. C.*, 33-34. With *līþan*, cf. OHG. *līdan*, to go, yield, suffer. *lēafum līþan*, may mean 'give up leaves.' Cf. B.-T., p. 644. Th. suggested changing *gnornian* to *growan*, and reading, 'with leaves flourish, with branches grow.' — *leomu*, cf. Wr., § 100-101.

It is possible that 25b-29a may be a figurative way of saying that parents lose their children and strive against the separation. But transitions are abrupt in gnomic verse, and veiled allusions unusual, therefore I prefer to read 25b-26 literally, and to see in 27-29a a new gnome not directly connected with what precedes. Brandl thinks the origin of this

passage, 25ff, is to be found in Boethius, *Cons. Phil.* L. II, *Met.* 8. Perhaps he might cite *Met.* 6?

27. *fæge sweltan*, cf. *An.* 1530, *fæge swulton*.

29b-34. An exceedingly awkward passage, displaying the gnostic collector's weakness in versification and syntax. I read: The Creator alone knows whence [*hwær* for *hwoan*?] the malady comes which hence from the country goes. He increases children, whom early disease takes (or, the child increaseth those [whom] disease has taken); thus there are on earth so many of the race of men; there would not be (on the other hand) measure (limiting) of mankind on earth, if he did not decrease them, who this world created. Th. reads *ær ādl* as two words, following the MS. as I do. Gr. used this reading at first, but in *Spr.* and *Germ.* X, he compounded the two. W. follows Gr². Later Edd. stand by Th. Cf. Holt., *Angl. Bei.*, XXI, 154. Cf. also B.-T., p. 17, *ær-ād* = 'early disease,' and p. 1088 (where, inconsistently, *ær* is translated 'before'). Gr. puncts. *cymeþ. þe heonan . . . gewiteð, umbor yceð, ær ādl nimeð*: Gr², *cymeþ, . . . gewiteð. Umbor . . . ærād nimeð*.

30b. *cýþþe*. Cf. B.-T., p. 191. This may mean either 'knowledge,' a reading which W. prefers, or 'a known region, country,' and so I take it. *Spr.*, I, 181, glosses *cýþ*, 'landschaft.'

31. *niman* is preserved in the slang word *nim* = steal, B.-T., p. 721.

34a. *hī*, acc. — *wanige*, trans. vb. Cf. modern wane, intrans. — *teōde*, created.

35a. This line is practically identical with *Seaf.*, 106, *dol bið sē þe him his dryhten ne ondrædeð, cymeð him deað unpinged*. Of the same type are *Wand.*, 112, *Til biþ sē þe*, etc., and *Sol. and Sat.*, 224, *Dol bið sē ðe*, etc.

35b. *þæs*, Cf. Sh., p. 118. With *tō* after verb of motion to express object of motion.

36a. *beorgað*, w. dat. *sawlum*, protect their souls.

37-38. I read: Blessed is he who in his home prospers; miserable he whom his friends deceive; never shall he be blessed to whom his provision fails: he shall be bound for a time by need. Th. 'He shall never . . . whose provision fails. Need shall have time.' He carries *gebunden* over to the next gnome and reads, *gebunden bliþe sceal bealolēas*. Likewise, he takes *heorte* from 39a and makes it the initial word of 39b; but see below. Distich 37-38 has been the subject of investigation by Holt-hausen. In *Eng. St.*, XXXVII, 199, he suggests *nýde* for *nýd*. "Zu *nefre sceal* ist offenbar aus dem vorhergehenden ein *ēadig wesan* zu ergänzen; zu *gebunden* bloss *wesan*." His reading would thus be equivalent to my translation, above. He pursues the subject in *Angl. Bei.* XXI, 154. "So ist offenbar mit besserung der interpunktion zu lesen, denn ein adj. *nefre* 'infirmus, invalidus,' das Grein- allerdings mit fragezeichen angesetzt, wird schwerlich anzunehmen sein. Dies als *ne æfre* zu erklären und zu *afor* (l. *āfor*!) zu ziehen, ist vollends verkehrt, da *n* doch kein präfix ist." He then observes that Th. has recognized the

meaning of the passage, though leaving a lacuna for the evidently understood *ēadig wesan*. Holt. ends by dismissing as "verkehrt" the note of Schlutter in *Eng. St.*, XLI, 328. Cf. B.-T., p. 706, 'Never shall he thrive whose provision fails him,' etc. Str. comments, "wenn 38b zu übersetzen ist, 'das unglück sei auf immer gefesselt,' so trennt das distichon 37, 38 von den übrigen sechs versen." Of the same type as 37a is *Seaf.* 107.

39a. Glad shall be the innocent heart.

39b. The blind shall suffer of (or loss of) his eyes. Th. begins 39a with *gebunden*, from l. 38, then carries *heorte* over to 39b, so that the passage through 44 has a figurative meaning. — *þolian*, cf. dialect *thole*, and B.-T., p. 106 (iii).

40. He shall be deprived of clear sight. *him*, referring to *blind*, the person; *hī* referring to *ēagna*. — *oftigen*, from *oftēon*, cf. B.-T., p. 742, w. dat. of pers. and gen. of thing. Cf. Wr., § 442, for *oftigen*, pp. form. — *tunглу*, heavenly bodies, with which *sunnan* and *monan*, l. 41, are in apposition. — *gesihþ*, Angl. form? Cf. WS. *gesiehþ*, and Wr., §§ 99, 184. It may be LWS. In the MS. the second *i* in *bewitian* is inserted above the line, — later hand?

41. *Swegltorht*, adj., mod. *tunглу*, above. Th., 'the heaven-bright sun,' which is inflectionally wrong: *swegltorht* is the reg. form for acc. plu. of this neuter adjective. Cf. *Met.* 29²⁴.

42a. The first part of this line is puzzling. Th. reads, 'inasmuch that he alone knows it.' Gr. suggests that *onge* is derived from *onga*, a thorn; hence, his translation would substantially be, 'A thorn, since he alone knows it.' I think *onge* may be a variant for *ange*, troubled, sorrowful; cf. B.-T., p. 46. I read 41b-42a, therefore, 'That to him will be distressing in his mind, sorrowful, since he alone knows it. A passage in *Oros.* (II, 5), has almost the same expression: *ðā wæs ðām cyninge swiðe ange on his mōde*.

44. of *heofodgimme*, following MS. Th. proposes *heafod-gimmmum*; Gr. on *hēafodgimme*. Cf. also *Spr.*, II, 43. W. sees *heofod* as dialect. Possibly the scribe made an error in spelling. Cf. l. 68, *An.* 31.

45a. Th. reads *lefmon*, 'a lover'! Cf. B.-T., p. 627, *lēf*, weak, injured, and *Spr.*, II, 167, *lēf*, *infirmus*.

47. W. thinks the beginning of 47 is lost, 'Ich nehme hier eine lücke an, obgleich keine spur einer solchen in der hs.' Siev. sees no gap, but a finished stanzaic form. Kaluza, *Eng. St.*, XXI, 383, would write the two lines (46-47) as one, making truly a "schwellverse." Holt., *Angl. Bei.*, XXI, 154, objects to the first half of the line containing four accents, and suggests that *and tyhtan* is an addition of the scribe. He would read as one line 46 and 47, omitting *and tyhtan*. This is taking a good deal of liberty with the text, particularly since the phrase *trymman* and *tyhtan* is essentially AS. in its tautological, alliterative quality. — *on gewitte ālæde*, until he be brought into understanding. B.-T., supp. p. 33, 'until he be brought to exercise his reason.'

49. *cildgeongne*. I follow the MS. in retaining this form, which I regard as an acc. adj., the second part of the compound receiving the adjectival inflection. Gr., *Spr.*, I, 160, glosses the word as a nom. adj., and regards the *ne* as sign of the negative. So do other Edd., apparently.

51a. Th., 'With strong mind shall a man govern.' This line is identical with *Seaf.* 109a, *Stieran mon sceal strongum mōde*. — *stýran*, cf. B.-T., p. 917, *stiēoran*, where 'restrain' is suggested. For the various forms, cf. Wr., § 138.

52b-53a. They begin angrily to hasten, the dusky waves, at a distance, to the land. Th., *on-faran*, and translates, 'the ocean in rough seasons strives fiercely to tend, dusky to move to land.' For *fundian*, Gr. offers *fandian*. — *fealwe*, Mead notes (*PMLA.*, XIV, 1169 ff.) occurs in AS. poetry 17 times. It is an indefinite color. "The prevailing meaning," Mead says, "appears to be a pale yellow shading into red or brown, and in some cases into green."

53b. *hē* seems to refer to *lond*, but *lond* is neuter; perhaps personification explains the construction. Gr. suggests *hit*. Str. thinks 51-54 belong together, that to the ethical idea, 'one with strong mind shall rule,' is joined a comparison from nature, that of the ocean in storm. In this case, *hē* would be explained as referring to *mon*; but it seems to me better to read the gnomes separately, keeping the meaning distinct in each case. Note end-rhyme 53a-53b.

54a. *him*, that is, waves implied in *fealwe* (the walls shall hold resistance to them). Gr. *sc. yðā*, and *Spr.*, I, 286, *undæ*?

54b. *him*, that is, *weallas*? or *weallas* and *yðā*? Lit. to them is the wind in common, mutual. Th., 'is the wind indifferent,' which W. challenges, "Woher kommt diese bedeutung?" O. B. Schlutter regards the word equivalent to *gemægne* = *gewealden*. *Potestati subjectus*, he says, is the idea, and translates, 'ihnen (den mauern) ist der wind untertan.' He cites *R. Ben.*, III, 19 (Vol. 2, p. 15, Gr.'s *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa*). His suggestion is not altogether convincing by way of proof, but deserves acknowledgment.

55. Observe the comparison introduced here and extending through 59a. Str. sees in the passage a reversal of the method used in 51-54. Here, 55-59a, the metaphor proceeds from nature, with an application to mankind. The metrical form is identical with one form of the *ljóðaháttr* strophe. Cf. Siev², p. 145, and below.

59a. Bold men (are) powerful through their nature. Cf. Th. and B.-T., p. 382. W. places no mark after *healdaþ*, 58b, hence his reading would be substantially, 'and then with comrades hold, bold men, genial rule.'

59b-60. Gr. and W. make 60 supplement 59b. I prefer a division by which two gnomes appear: A king is desirous of power. Hateful is he who claims land, dear he who gives more (land). — *londes monað*, cf. B.-T., p. 688 (iv).

61a. *brym*, cf. B.-T., p. 1074 (iii).

61b. *briste*, in a good sense, confident.

62. I regard this line an extension of 61b, not of 61 entire.

63a. *ēos bōge*, horse's back; lit. the shoulder of the horse; cf. B.-T., p. 115.

63b. *ēorod* for *wōrod*. *ēorod* satisfies the alliteration and contrasts with *fēþa*, 64. It would appear, therefore, to be the correct form. The meanings are nearly identical: *ēorod* = *ēoh* + **rad*, troop of cavalry; *werod* = *wer* + *rad*, multitude, army. Cf. Wr., § 151. With 63, cf. Gn. C. 32.

64b. It is fitting for a woman to be at her board, table. I find no other instance of the weak form, *borde*. It may mean table; it may refer to the embroidery board. Cf. *Volsunga Saga*, Ch. XXIV, the passage on Brunhilde at her embroidery.

65a. 'A gadding woman gets words (a bad reputation),' B.-T., p. 444. With 65b, cf. 101b. Cf. also Siev., 478, who suggests dividing lines 65 and 101, so as to make two out of each, the effect being analogous to that of *ljóðaháttr*.

66. Th. translates, 'A man thinks of her with contempt; oft her cheek smites.' I read, Men think of her with contempt; often her face fades. *Hlēor* is nom., and since *mænað* is plu., it is better to read *hlēor* the subject of *abrēoþeð*, than to make *mon* understood or inferred the subject. *Hæleð*, 66a, is evidently plu. (Since writing this note, I observe that B.-T., supp. p. 4, suggests 'her good looks are lost.')

67. *sceomiande man*, Th. translates, 'A bashful man,' a reading which spoils the contrast. Read, A shamed man shall go in the shade; it is fitting that a pure one (walk) in the light.

68a. Hand shall lie on head, etc. *Heofod* troubles Gr., who suggests *plausus*? and in *Spr.*, II, 63, does not venture to suggest a rendering. Tupper (*JEG. Ph.*, Jan., 1912) comments on these lines in connection with *hand ofer heafod*. He says: "—it is obvious from the accompanying gnomes that the reference is to some ceremony at the time of the dispensing of treasure by the lord to his men—some rite of the Comitatus. The chief's hand is evidently laid upon his retainer's head, but how and why? I believe that the answer to this question is given in certain well-known verses of the Wanderer, 41–44: þinceð him on mōde þæt hē his mondryhten | clyppe and cysse, and on cnēo lece | handa and hēafod, swā hēhwilum ær | in gēardagum giefstōlas brēac." Tupper thinks the exile is recalling the custom of the commendation "by which . . . the vassal pledged his loyalty and trust in return for his chief's gold and protection. . . . This pledge of the clansman is the *præcipium sacramentum* of the Germania of Tacitus (Ch. 14), the oath of fealty of the *Beowulf*," etc. In any case, Tupper contends that this gnome shows that the chief placed his hand on the warrior's head when he dealt to him gifts. Further, see *JEG. Ph.*, April, 1912, wherein Tupper notes that L. M. Larson has called his attention to an article, *The Household of the Nor-*

wegian Kings, in *The American Historical Review*, XIII, 439-479, and to his (Larson's) footnote on the lines in the *Wanderer*, as the earliest complete record of a most important ceremony. Thus is new support given to the meaning of the phrase, *hand ofer hēafod*. Cf. also York Powell's comment in Elton's *Saxo Grammaticus*, p. xxvi, "Allegiance was paid by kneeling and laying the head down at the lord's knee, as the beautiful passage in the *Wanderer's Lay* reminds us." Cf. also *Charm A 14* (Grendon, p. 178), and observe that the meaning is probably the same. Gift of life or eternal joy might be fittingly represented by the Divine Dispenser performing an act similar to that of an earthly giver. Grendon (notes, p. 221) seems to be in doubt. — *inwyrcean*, to consecrate (by laying on of hands) ?

68b ff. Th. translates, 'the treasury await riches; a present stand prepared, when men it bestow. Grasping is he who receives gold, a man to whom in a high station is enough.' Rie. tampers considerably with the MS., but admits that his emendation of the first half line is not satisfactory. He will not accept *strēonum*; "ist . . . entschieden unzulässig;" *strēon* cannot = *strēowen* = *stratum*. He fails to understand what the 'hord should be doing in bed,' the connection seeming to escape him. From *strēonum*, through *scrēonum*, he would evolve 'schatzkammer.' Str. says, in effect, he does not understand 68a. But he thinks the entire passage nothing more than the request of a wanderer for alms, thus agreeing with Rie., who notes that the singer having come to the end of his lay hints at reward. Tupper reads 70b, 'Good is he who receives the gold, the man who is contented on the high seat.' Krapp thinks 70b means simply 'man (i.e. lord) on high-seat hath possessed (or enjoyed) it.' 70a means that the eager person wants the gold which the lord (in 70b) has possessed. He sees in 71 the usual reward for generosity. Lawrence would read 70b, 'the man on the high-seat is not lacking in it, i.e. the gold.' Ayres sees also a strong contrast, and reads, 'Greedy is he who receives the gold [but] the man (prince) on the high-seat is sufficient for him, or it.' I would read the whole passage: Treasure shall rest in its bed (casket), the throne will stand prepared, when men divide it (the treasure). Greedy is he who receives the gold, but the man on the high-seat will satisfy him. I am inclined to see, with Ayres, adverbial significance in *þæs*, and to read *þæs geneah*, 'will be sufficient for that.'

70b. Sh., p. 24, thinks *geneah* = *beneah*, and reads: a man has need of it on a throne. I read, *geneah* from *genugan*.

71b. *lisse*, cf. *Chr.*, 434, *Hē him þære lisse tēan forgildeð*.

B

73. *eorþe grōwan*, earth shall grow, with trans. suggestion. Cf. Th., 'earth [shall] bring forth.' C., '*terra vigescet*.' Str. thinks possibly growan is "nicht richtig," that another word of different meaning

belongs where it stands. The gnome breaks an otherwise unified passage, it is true, but unity is not a characteristic of gnostic utterance.

73b-74. Ice shall bridge (over water), the water a covering wear, (ice shall) lock up, etc. This, my reading, conserves the AS. verse structure; that is, I see in 74a a repetition. C., '*glacies confringetur, Aqua navem (ulmum) subvehet.*' Th., 'ice break; the watery deep agitate.' Ten Br., 'Eis sich wollen, der wasserhelm tragen.' Ma., 'The ice, the water helmet, locks up the plants.' Cf. An., 1261, *Is brycgade*.

74b-76. Ettm. places a period after *lūcan*, no mark after *cīpas* in 75. This punctuation suggests the reading, One shall bind up the plants of the earth. I translate: One shall unbind the frost's fetters, the very mighty God. *Inbindan* occurs nowhere else, and is perhaps interchangeable with *onbindan*. Cf. B.-T., p. 589 (in), and B.-T., p. 747. Equally pertinent, however, would it be to separate *in* from *bindan* and read, One shall bind on the fetters of the frost. Gr., *Spr.*, II, 194, thinks *lūcan* is intrans. — "sich schlieszen." Str., "Gott allein löst das fesselnde band."

77a. I read, Winter shall depart. Th., 'the much mighty God winter shall cast forth.' With *winter . . . geweorpan*, cf. *winter geworp*, An., 1256. Weder may mean weather, bad weather, or, as here, good weather. But C., '*tempestas.*' Cf. B.-T., p. 1182, and Kr., An., p. 158.

78b. Beginning with this line, I see through 81 a series of short gnomes, and read: The sea shall be unquiet; that is, it is the nature of the sea to be restless. The solemn (*dēop*, *profundus*) way of the dead is longest secret. Holly shall to the fire. The property of a dead man shall be divided. Glory (fame) is best (*dōm* = κλέα ἀνδρῶν, Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 329). Th., 'The sea is unstill; deep the way of the dead, A secret shall be longest hidden. Shall among men the inheritance be divided of a dead man.' That is, Th. ends 79 with *holen*, and in 80 substitutes *æleð* for *æled*. Ettm. reads a period after *hāt*, a comma after *unstill*, a comma after *weg*, a period after *lengest*. Gr., 'Die tiefe todte woge bleibt am längsten (unter der eisdecke) verborgen.' Ten Br., 'Am längsten, in der tiefe birgt sich die todte woge. Die stechpalm soll in's feuer.' Str., 'die tiefe tote woge ist am längsten böse (gewesen).' Brooke, 'The dead depth of ocean forever is dark.' Mü. thinks 79b is a separate gnome. Cf. Holt., *Eng. St.*, XXXVII, 199, who suggests *ofen* for *holen*. The form *wæg* is an orthographic variation, and the change to *weg* is unnecessary. Cf. B.-T., p. 1183.

80. This line shows end-rhyme instead of alliteration. Th. would force an alliteration by seeing in *æled*, *æleð* for *hæleð*. Unnecessary juggling. Hanscom, *JEG.Ph.*, V, 446, seems to think this line means holly is good for burning. Cf. Brandl, p. 962, note.

81. *Dōm biþ sēlast*. Cf. *Beo.* 1388b-1389a. Gr. thinks *dom* = 'ruhm'; so Ten Br., 'Ruhm ist das beste.' Koegel, 'dem toten ist nachruhm das beste,' and traces origin to Homer. (Cf. also introd., pp. 38, 39.)

82. A good example of ornate diction: The king shall buy a queen with property, with cups and bracelets. Cf. *Gn. C.* 45, *Hƿamǫl* 91.

85b-86. And the woman thrive, dear with her people. MS. *lof*, Th. translates 'beloved,' though he fails to suggest *lēof* as emendation. Cf. Rie., *Lesebuch*, p. xxvi, and *Beo.* 24 ff., *Lofðædum sceal . . . man geþēon*.

87a. *rune healdan* = keep counsel.

88. *meodorædenne*, the only instance of this compound, Sw. defines as a collective noun meaning 'strong drinks.' (On *-ræden*, cf. Wr., § 610, and Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildungslehre*, § 162). B.-T., p. 677, suggests 'cellars, metonymy for liquors.' I think the ceremonial of the mead-cup is referred to.

89a. MS. *sorge sið mægen*. I fail to make any meaning out of these words, which palæographically may easily be confused with *for gesið-mægen*. So facsimile of Exeter MS. I translate, accordingly, before the courtiers, the train. Cf. B.-T., p. 442, 'a multitude of companions.' Th., 'toward his friends, ever, everywhere.' Gr. has no punct. from *māþmum* through *gegrētan*. W. notes, 'Ettm. ändert in : *sorge siðmægen* simle æghwær.' But Ettm. has merely retained the MS.

90. (The wife) shall the nobles' chief first greet. I understand the entire passage from 85b through 93 to refer to the queen. She shall earn praise; be cheerful of mood; keep counsel; be munificent in horses, treasures; with [the ceremony of] the mead, before the train, always, everywhere, shall first greet the nobles' chief (her husband); the first cups to the lord's hand quickly present, shall know wise counsel for them (herself and husband), the house owners, both together. Cf. *Beo.* 612 ff. the picture of Wealhtheow moving among the guests, and *Beo.* 1216, the speech wherein Wealhtheow presents the collar to Beowulf. Cf. also Tupper, *Riddles*, p. 218, and Gummere's translation of the passage at hand, *OEE.*, p. 50, note, and *Atlakviða*, 38.

91b. *hond* for *honda*.

92b. ff. Ten Br., 'Rath ersinnen sollen des hauses herren zusammen.'

95. The only occurrence of the adj. use of *linden*.

95b-100. An often quoted passage. Dear the welcome one to the Frisian wife, when the vessel stands: when his ship is come and her husband at home, her own provider, and she invites him in, washes his sea-stained garments and gives him new weeds: pleasant is it to him on land whom his love constrains. Gollancz (*Chr.*, I, 16) has a pretty verse translation, but he renders *in laðað* 'leads to (the board),' and *bædeð*, 'awaits.' S. A. Brooke (*E. E. Lit.*, I, 233) thinks this passage may have arisen concerning one of the Frisian band which seems to have settled to the North of the Tweed. Ma. has a queer notion concerning this Frisian woman. He holds that *frisan* = 'frizzled, ringleted, with a wealth of tresses,' not Frisian!

100. Ten Br. translates, 'Am lande wohnt ihm was seine lieb ersehnet.' Ma., 'waiteth for him on the land . . . that his love demandeth.' That is, he sees a missing word. Cf. Sh., p. 23, 'whom his love constrains, or because (þæs) love constrains him (his).'

101a. See above (p. 92) and cf. *Hǫvamsl.*, 83, for a more cynical tone: *Meyjar orþom skyle mange trúa*.

101b. Cf. 65. I read, Often she dishonors men with her vices. *Hĩ*, though comparatively rare, is a nominative form. Rie. omits 101b, believing "dass die worte oft . . . behlið nur durch versehen von 65 hergenommen wären," and W. adds, "eine ansicht die sehr wahrscheinlich ist." On the length of 101, Schmitz says (p. 69), "101 nimmt K. als geschwellte zeile, doch glaube ich mit Rieger dass die worte oft bis behlið nur durch versehen von 65 hergenommen sind."

102. Many a one is (of the) steadfast; many a one (of the) inquisitive.

103. I read, She courts strange men. Cf. *Gn. C.* 43, and *The Instructions of King Cormac Mac Airt*, *op. cit.*, p. 22, l. 38: 'Bad women are given to trysting.' Grammar favors making woman the active agent instead of the object of the courting. Th., however, 'strange men court them.'

104b. *lēofes wēnan*, await a loved one.

105a. *gebidan þæs*, wait for what he may not hasten. Gr. thinks *ne* might be omitted. Cf. Sh., p. 33.

106b-107a. Unless the ocean restrain him; the sea has him in its power. *Mundum* may have an unfavorable meaning, clutches; if it should be so translated, I should make *hafað* also modified by *nefne*.

107b. A maid is the delight of the possessor. Th. suggests *ēgna* (*eagena*) for *ēgsan*, and translates, 'A maid is the delight of the eyes.' Ettm. and Rie. follow. Gr. punctuates: *gestýreð. Mere hafað mundum mægð, egsan wyn.* Or, he thinks, *egsa* may be *ēgsa*, 'possessor.' Ma. agrees with Gr.'s first reading; for he translates, 'the chief of terrors, i.e. the sea (holdeth) a family (many sailors).' W., "obgleich die ordnung der gedanken bei Grein eine bessere ist, schloss ich mich der andren einfachern erklärungsweise an." Cf. B.-T., p. 244, *ēgsa*, where this line is referred to. Holt., *Eng. St.*, XXXVII, 199, thinks *ēgna* correct, but the following *a*-line senseless. He thinks *ceap* should be instrumental, and, as I understand him, would read, 'A maid (is) the delight of the eyes; through property a man (is) wealthy.' Mü., "Die sippe [evidently for *mægð* = kinsman] ist die freude des besitzers."

108-109. Confusing lines. The meaning seems to be something like this: His property a wealthy man, the king a dwelling will sell, to the sailor when he comes sailing. He enjoys wood and water, when a dwelling is granted him. Th. reads: 'A rich man his cattle, a king his dwelling then, with his people shall guard, when mariners come, wood and water use; then to them is a dwelling granted.' Ma. reads: 'A rich man, a king, a settlement then for his people buys, when he comes sailing.' Rie. punctuates as Th., *cēap ēadig mon, cyning wic þonne, lēodon cýpeþ, þonne līþan cymeð.* Gr., *cēap-ēadig mon cyning wic þonne lēodon cýpeþ.* Gr², *wic þon lēodon (= þām lēodum) cýpeþ.* But as W. comments, 'Diese änderung ist unmöglich, da *þon* nicht *þon* in der hs. steht.' I follow Gr., *Spr.*, II, 182, in making *lēodon = līðan*, 'sailor.' Ma. agrees with Gr. in compounding *cēap* and *ēadig*. — For *līðan cymeð*, cf. B.-T., p. 643.

111. He buys meat, if he needs more, before he becomes too faint. Who is 'he'? Still the sailor-man?

113. *ne mæg*, etc., seems to be an idiomatic expression equivalent to our 'can't stand the weather'; but B.-T., p. 69, says, 'he may not be in the open air.'

114. Overcome is he, he may soon die, if he know not one who may feed him living. But *æf* may mean before. Cf. B.-T., pp. 6, 17.

115b-116. Cf. above, p. 92. *morþor* = violent death, corpse of one whom he has killed. For *morþor*, cf. Lawrence's *Banished Wife's Lament*, loc. cit., 391. With this passage, cf. *Sigrðrifomöl*, 33, counsel 9.

118. Note the rhyme, *gehnigan, gesigan*. *Ādl gesigan*, disease languish. Th. reads, 'ād(i)ge sigan, the diseased sink.' Gr. with an eye to alliteration offers *hadl, haðu*? But what does he mean? Holt. would write *hadl* = *heald*, *halþ* (bent down) and cites Sw.

119a. *ryht rogian*, justice shall flourish. Th., 'justice accuse,' and queries, 'Ohg. rogian?' B.-T. is at a loss for the meaning; *Spr.*, II, 383, 'rogian (ahd. rukian) florere, crescere.'" I follow this etymology.

120. *yfel unnyttost, þæt* is written over an erasure. — *nyttost, unnyttost*, example of what Siev. terms "grammatischer reim."

121. A unique line. It puns on *God* and *good* and rhymes *geŋge* with *lenge*. The tone seems to be that of a real proverb. Good is prevalent and has affinity with God. B.-T., p. 421 (*geŋge*), 'Good prevails and is lasting before God.' B.-T., p. 629 (*lenge*), 'Good hath affinity with God.' Cf. Klæber, *M. Ph.*, III, 246, where this passage is compared with one from *Beo.*, and the meaning 'at hand' suggested.

122. Thought shall be restrained, the hand shall be controlled (by mind?) A common gnostic idea, cf. *Wand.*, 11 ff. Note the alliteration and the rhyme.

123. The apple shall be in the eye. Interesting relic, — *sēo* = apple = pupil.

123b. After *in* and before *brēostum* there is a slight erasure.

128. A good scop for men, spear-strife for heroes (is fitting); war for resistance to hold peace among dwellings. Th. translates, 'a weapon for enemies (that is, *gār nīþwerum*), war for an adversary,' etc. Ettm., "Thorpii textus recensionem sum secutus; at legi etiam potest, quamvis, paganitatem sapiat, God scop (creavit) gumum gārnið verum, vīg tōviðre. vic . . ." So Rie. understands, but writes *gār nīþwerum*. Gr. *gōð* (*bonus*) scop gumum, gārnið verum vīg tōviðre vīcfreoðu healdan. Cf. also *Spr.* II, 549, *tōviðre* = 'contra pugnam.' B (I quote from W.), *gōð* (*bonus*) scop gumum, gār nīðverum, vīg tōviðre vīcfreoðohealdan = 'spear für die neidigen, kampf für den widersacher, wohnung für friedenhaltende.'

130-132. Str., "In den drei folgenden versen 130-132 ist je ein halbvers einem spruche gewidmet."

133. Woden created idols (or evils). Str. thinks the origin of this passage is *Ps.* xciv, 5: *Omnes dii gentium dæmonia, dominus autem*

cælos fecit. Pope Boniface quotes from this Psalm in his letter to Edwin, King of the Angles (see Bede, *HE.*, II, 10). The writer of the gnomic passage may have translated from memory or he may have misunderstood in making *fecit* a governing verb also for the first passage. There is a parallel for the rest of the speech in the history of Edwin's conversion (Bede, *HE.*, Ch. II, 13), "In hac prædicatione veritas claret illa, quæ nobis vitæ, salutis et beatitudinis æternæ dona valet tribuere." For *weos*, cf. *Spr.*, II, 731, *wōh*, 'iniquitas'; B.-T., p. 1262, *wōh*, crooked, and *wōh*, wrong, error.

Since, as I believe, the final six lines, 133-138, are the addition of a late scribe, it is not impossible that the chapters just referred to may have been familiar to him. But the parallelism of this passage with the passages in Bede may be due to the common origin, the Bible.

137. *eft æt*, etc. B. translates, 'wieder am ende.'

C

140b. *lēofes* in MS. seems to be error for *lofes*: merit praise, rather than merit a lover. Cf. *Spr.*, II, 192. — *Gearnian* seems to be a contraction for *ge-earnian*.

141b. *dæges onettan*, daily be diligent. Cf. The night cometh when no man can work (*John* ix, 4). *Dæges*, adverbial. Cf. *Wr.*, 557; B.-T., p. 193.

142. A good man remembers (is careful of) a good and tame horse. Th. translates *mon* 'man,' not seeing subst. significance of *tīl*. So Ettm., who notes, "scil. *byð weorðe*." *Mon* is best taken as 3d sg. pres. of *munan*.

143b. *calcrondes*, a compound which occurs nowhere else.

144. A perfect gnome. No man gains too much. Str. notes that this line is the conclusion of the four-line alliterative strophe in the *fornyrðislag*, this strophe being made up of 139, 140, 141, 144. 142 and 143 are out of place.

146. Often one goes far by (about) the village, where he knows for himself no certain friend. 'Passing the dwellings of men,' B.-T., p. 1019, *tūne* (iv); 'where he cannot look for a friend,' B.-T., p. 1138. Th. 'where he knows a friend to be void of reproach.' The line seems to mean that one avoids a place where there are no friends. — *unwiotoð*, *Spr.* II, 630, glosses 'non destinatus.'

147. Siev. p. 464, thinks Ettm. right in emending to *wulf*. "Nicht nur *gefēran* ist wahrscheinlich, sondern auch das folgende *felafrēcne dēor* ist sicher singular." But *gefēran* may be dat. plu., and though *wulf* makes smoother construction, I do not change text.

148. The dangerous animal; full often the companion tears him. MS. has *fæcne*. Ettm., "fæcn, dolosus, astutus lupus non bene dicitur, optime tamen frēc, periculosus, terribilis." W. adds a note calling attention to *fela-frēcne dēor*, *Rune Poem*, 5. As he suggests, the second half-line,

148b, seem to indicate *frecne*. I translate accordingly, though I have thought it wise to give MS. in text. Gr. punctuates: *geferan*, . . . *deor*: . . . *sliteð*.

149ff. Terror shall (arise) because of the gray wolf, a grave (shall be prepared) for the dead man. (The wolf) laments for hunger; he does not at all encircle (?) that (*græf*) with lamentation, nor does he bewail the slaughter, the gray one, the mortality of men, but ever wishes it more. — A much disputed passage. Th. reads from 149b, 'The grave for the dead man hungry shall groan; not with howl winds round it, nor indeed death laments the gray wolf,' etc. Ettm. punctuates, *Hungre hēofeð nales*. So Gr. Cf. B.-T., p. 528, 'Hungre hēofeð, laments for hunger.' Mü., 'Selbst im grabe noch verfolgt den menschen der falsche freund (wulf). Er klagt wohl, aber nicht aus anteil (nalæs), sondern vor hunger (Hungre heofeð), weil er nichts mehr zu fressen bekommt (ac hit a mare wille).' Ettm. q. 'greggum = grægum?' Lines 149–151 show two of the seven instances where this word occurs in AS. poetry. Cf. Mead, *loc. cit.*

153. A bandage shall (be) wound; revenge shall be for the brave man. *wunden*, from *windan*, to wind. If the word is *wund* = wound, and the line to be read, A bandage shall be for the wound, what of the construction of *wund*? Or if, according to Th., *wunden* = wounded, what of the construction? As alternative to my own reading, I offer, A fillet shall be rolled, twisted. Th.'s change of *wræd* to *wræð* is unnecessary; both forms occur. Th. translates *wracu*, 'exile.' Cf. B.-T., p. 1268, *wracu*, II b. Ayres suggests a spirited reading, 'The web shall be woven, misery (shall be) for the cruel man,' which though offering a new interpretation of *wræd*, at the same time preserves its literal meaning of 'that which is bound, or wound.' Cf. *The Fatal Sisters*, by Thomas Gray.

154b–155a. Man shall have both alike for his companions. It is possible that the meaning may be that bow and arrow shall be to each other as man to mate. Cf. B.-T., p. 412, 'A bow must have an arrow, a man must to his mate.' Cf. ON. *Enn á boga örvar*.

155b. Treasure become another's, or 'change hands,' B.-T., p. 671. Th. sees in the *b*-line a continuation of the first half line and reads, 'be the other's treasure.' Ettm. and Gr². doubtless see a similar meaning; for they place a comma after 155a, and a period after 155b. Cf. also Mü., p. 23, 'Der mann soll mit dem genossen so untrennbar verbunden sein wie bogen und pfeil, . . . ein geschenk des andern wert sein.' Gr. originally placed a period after *gemæccan*, a reading which W. follows, as I do.

156. May be a Christian thought: cf. The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away (*Job* i, 21).

158. A hall shall stand, itself grow old. Ettm. offers *silfer*, *argentum*. Perhaps *sylf* may be for *syll*, 'foundation'?

159. *læsest*, poetic form, *læst*, being the only form common in WS. prose.

160. Trees shall spread and truth be disseminated. Cf. B.-T., pp. 119, 1179. I follow MS., H., Th., and Gr. W. reads *sceal onbrædan*. Th. conjectures *trēowu* needlessly, *trēow* also being a form of the nom. plu. This line appears to pun on *trēo* and *trēow*.

161. *sīo* has for antecedent, *trēow*.

162-164. A *ljōðaháttr* strophe. Cf. Siev², p. 145. Cf. also note by Ettm.

165. Cf. Siev. and Holt. They would make a second line after *gewearð*, one having simple alliteration: cf. *ljōðaháttr* strophe. As it stands, this line has six accents. On *scēop* for *scōp*, cf. Wr., § 128, n.

166a. To every one of men wise words are fitting. Th., Ettm., Gr. would change *wæra* to *wera*. Unnecessary, the form here found occurs elsewhere. Cf. *Gospels* (Lind. and Rush.), and B.-T., p. 1241.

167. Mü. thinks the colorless *guman* gains its true significance if read as 'warrior, opposed to singer,' *op. cit.*, p. 23.

168. Cf. *Quot homines, tot sententiæ* and *Minds of Men*, 21-23. One would expect *monige* as Ettm. emends (not *monig*).

169. I follow Th. in ending the line with *longað* (*langoð*), and I translate, Each has for himself, apart, a desire of heart. Whenever one sits apart and meditates, he grows sad; the line suggests a typical AS. situation. Cf. *Wand.*, 111, *gesæt him sundor æt rûne*. Cf. also close of *The Banished Wife's Lament*: *Wā bið þām þe sceal of langofe lēofes ābīdan*.

170 ff. Gr. and W. begin this line with *longað*. Th. and Ettm. see a gap after *þonne*. There is undoubted difficulty in effecting a smooth translation. The meaning seems to be, Yet the less the man who knows many songs and who can play the harp, etc. — *oþþe* = and. Cf. *Beo.* 650, 2254, etc. Allusions in AS. poetry to the harp are frequent, but with 171 cf. especially *Gifts of Men*, 49, and *Fates of Men*, 80-81.

173-174. Miserable is he who must live alone, friendless to dwell has to him fate decreed. W., "Ettm. nimmt winel. wun. 'als objekt zu geteod.' So fasse ich es auch auf." But Th., 'Miserable is he who must live alone, friendless continue, fate has ordained it to him.'

176. MS. *eorle*. Th. q. 'eorlice?' Ettm. suggests *eorles*, and W. follows. Holt. prefers *eorlas*: why? Gr. follows MS. as I do, though I see no translation of *eorle* which compares favorably with that of *eorles* in apposition to *monnes*. *Eorle*, dat., to a man? Note pun on *eafora* and *eofor*. — *wæran* for *wæren*, as Ettm. suggests. — *sceoldan* for *sceoldon*.

177. *stīpherde dēor*, the bear.

178-179. Always shall these warriors carry their trappings, and with each other together sleep. For *geræde*, trappings, cf. B.-T., p. 429, and *gerēde*, p. 430. But B.-T., p. 429, under *gerædan*, 'arrange, dispose,' refers to this line. *Spr.*, I, 440, is in doubt, suggesting no meaning, but giving acc. as case. Perhaps the word is for *ræd*, council, then *lædan* is figurative, and the idea becomes, lead a council. Koegel, *op. cit.*, I, 75, *geræd anlædan*.

180. A hopeless line, as it stands. Th. thinks the second *mon tō* an

erroneous repetition by the scribe, as is probably the case. He is perhaps wrong in thinking some lines are omitted after *swefan*. Cf. Siev², p. 145. Enough is omitted after *mædle* to make a second long line in the strophe. Gr. suggests *mæg beswīcan* to fill the gap. The meaning is possibly to the effect, 'Never shall one go to the assembly without the other.' Cf. Koegel, *op. cit.*, I, 75, 'immer sollen die helden (einer gefolgschaft) sich in einander schicken und bei einander schlafen: dann werden sie sich gegenseitig niemals durch böse reden veruneinigen, bis sie der tod trennt.' Th. writes *mæðle*, but cf. B.-T., p. 664. These lines have a ring and content similar to those in the formula of peacemaking found in primitive laws and customs of Iceland. Cf. *Origines Islandicæ*, p. 316,

'Ye two shall be made men —
At one and in agreement,
At feast and food,
At moot and meeting of the people,
At church soken, and in the king's house.'

Mü., failing to see the the *ljóðaháttir* strophe, takes 178–183 "für schlecht umgemodelte prosa." He has a similar opinion of 165–169. Cf. Holt., *Eng. St.*, XXXVII, 200, who would change to *tōmælde*. Cf. B.-T., p. 1002; *Spr.*, II, 545.

182. The meaning of *tæfl* is uncertain. Icel. *tafl* is a game, used of chess or draughts or of dicing. (Cf. also *Germania*, XXIV.) Here, the context seems to indicate that dicing or a board for dicing is meant. Cf. B.-T., p. 968. It is possible, however, that the meaning may be table where drink and food is served.

183. They forget the shaping of bitter things. On *gesceafte*, cf. Wr., § 391, B.-T., p. 435. On *borde*, T., B.-T., 'on board.' It is likely, I think, that the gaming board is referred to, — at the board. Either meaning fits equally well the context.

184. Ettm., "verbum emettan ignoro; emtjan, emtigan, sæpe leguntur." But there is no authority for this statement. I suggest either of two readings. First, the idle hand of the dicer is at leisure long enough. Cf. *Deuteronomy* i, 6, *genóh lange*; *Spr.*, II, 284, *neah* = *satis diu*. For *æmet*, cf. *Spr.* I, 57. Second, change the text according to the following explanation: *æmet* comes at the end of a line. *-ian* was carried forward. *ge* of the next word, as not unusual, was affixed to the preceding word; hence *iangē*. Paleographically, *i* for *l* is quite possible; a later scribe may have mistaken the letter, particularly since *lange*, a common word, would naturally present itself, in opposition to the form *iangē*. My chief reasons for the change are first that *æmet* occurs nowhere else, so far as I know, and second, that *o* is uniformly written before nasals (in the *Gn. Ex.*), and *lange* would have been *longe*. (A single exception to the statement in regard to nasals occurs in *man*, 67.) *Idle hond æmetian geneah* would be translated, then, 'It satisfies the idle hand to be at leisure.' Th. reads, 'Idle is the hand (long leisure nigh) of the gamester.'

Sir F. Madden, in *Remarks on the Ancient Chessmen found in the Isle of Lewis*, Arch., 24, 203 ff., notes, p. 282, that the game here cited is allied to backgammon. He, with "Mr. Price's" help, renders 182 ff:—

They two shall sit together
At the table game sit,
Whilst their anger glides away,
Shall forget the anxious cares of life ;
They shall have game on the board,
With idle hand unoccupied,
Long near the table-men,
Shall they throw the dice (tessellæ).

It is noticeable that Sir Frederick insists that the game was not chess. Wright (*Homes of Other Days*, New York, 1871, p. 232), speaking of games says, "The most popular was that of tabulæ. This game was in use among the Romans, and was in all probability borrowed from them by the Anglo-Saxons, among whom it was in great favor, and who called the game tæfle (evidently a mere adoption of the Latin name), and the dice tæfle-stanas. The former evidently represents the Latin tessellæ, little cubes; and the latter seems to show that the Anglo-Saxon dice were usually made of stones. At a later period, the game of tables, used nearly always in the plural, is continually mentioned along with chess, as the two most fashionable and aristocratic games in use." On p. 234, Wright refers to *L. L. L.*, Act V, sc. 2, "when he plays at tables," and to *The Gul's Hornbooke*, for similar use of the term.

185b. *teoselum weorpeð*, throws with the dice. Cf. Sh., pp. 18 and 61. Th. reads, 'but with the dice he throws seldom in the spacious ship, unless under sail he runs.' I am inclined to think *hē* refers to *cēole*, not to the gamester. Ettm. and Gr. place a period after *weorpeð*.

187. Gr. and W. print *werig scealc*. Cf. *Spr.*, II, 403. B.-T. does not refer to this line under *scealc*.—*wearnum*, freely.

186 ff. Str. comments to the following effect: Lazy and incapable servants are not to be used for the voyage; the lazy runs only under sail; the incapable, when reproached, loses his craft and lets the helm be ruined. I fail to get any such meaning, but read, Weary shall he (be, who) rows against the wind; very often one freely blames the timid, so that he loses courage, his oar becomes dry on board. Th. reads, 'Full oft one with threats urges the slothful, . . . draws his oar on board.'

189. Cunning shall with thing evil, skill with things fitting. — *Lot* . . . list, names for a corresponding vice and virtue; cf. B.-T., p. 643; *Spr.*, II, 190–194. Koegel, *op. cit.*, I, 75, translates, 'Betrug muss mit falschheit, list mit schlaueit verbunden sein; auf diese weise wird der stein (im bretspiel) heimlich beseitigt.'

189–193. *Ljóðaháttir* strophe. Th. thinks want of context and alliteration shows the MS. to be defective. He sees a gap after *forstolen*, and makes no translation from *bacum* through *āræd*. Gr. sees a slight omis-

sion after *āræd*. With these views, cf. that of Str. (*Zft. f. d. A.*, XVIII, 215). By following Str.'s emendation and changing *āræd* to *arod*, one may read the gnome: The ready man is always prepared. Of the entire strophe, Str. says: "der sinn des spruches ist folgender: schlechte betrügen, tüchtige zeigen schlaueheit. dadurch (durch betrug oder list) wird der stein (im brettspiele) unvermerkt hinweggenommen. oft zerzanken sie (die *lyswe*) sich mit wörten, bevor sie aus einander gehen, während der schlagfertige (*arod* vgl. altn. *orr*) überall gerüstet ist (den schaden wett zu machen sucht oder weiss)." Line 193, he adds, is an example of *skothending*, or half-rhyme: *gea r : a . . . a : r* *od*. Cf. Koegel, *op. cit.*, I, 75. B.-T., supp. p. 45, suggests, doubtfully, 'resolute' for *āræd*. Cf. *Wand.*, *Wyrd bið ful āræd*, and *Beo.* (*an-ræd*), 1530, 1576, where the meaning seems to be 'determined, firm' (kühn, mutig, Schücking glosses). 193, then, may be, The courageous is at all times prepared. Koegel reads, *geara is hwær ahred*, and translates, 'tief ist irgendwo erregt.' He notes, "Der sinn der zeile kann nur sein: der innere zorn kommt zum ausbruch, die innere erregung macht sich in worten luft." This rendering throws too much strain on 191. The general meaning is probably this: Cunning must meet cheating, by which the dice may be stolen: players often dispute before they turn their backs on one another; the courageous man will be ready (in case of a wrangle).

194. This line marks the beginning of a Christian passage, one that is corrupt and difficult to convert into a form approaching that first written down. 194-198*a* is comparatively simple and reads, Hostility has been among mankind since the earth first swallowed Abel's blood; it was no one day's hate, from which strife-bringing drops widely sprang, great crime to man, to many people bale-mixed hate.

195. *andæge*, cf. *Beo.* 11, 1107, 1935, and Sedgfield's ed., p. 164. The meaning may be 'open.' — *mon*, in 197, I change to *mān*; otherwise, I make nothing of 197*a*.

198. Here the difficulty becomes greater. What does *þone* refer to? Cain or Abel? If the latter, then *nerede* may be for *ferede* or *generede*, and the meaning is, whom (that is, Abel) death took away.

200. The difficulty here lies in *apolwarum*, for which B.-T. offers 'citizens.' But 'eternal hate injured men, so citizens' is not a convincing rendering. Str. would substitute *gewræc* for *nerede* (after the passage in *Beo.*), then he would change *apolwarum* to *aðom swarian*, reading: 'den mord rachte — kund war es seither weithin — dass ewiger hass die menschen schädigte, wie auch eidam und schwäher der waffen getöse vollführten über die erde.' Str. has a good deal to say about the Cain-Abel reference with respect to its bearing on the Oswald-Penda wars. I doubt any historical allusion.

195. *blōde*, is. after *swelgan*. Cf. B.-T., p. 947.

201. *drēogan gewin*, fight.

203-206 show reversion to gnomic utterance.

204. W. writes *and* in italics to indicate the MS. sign for this word;

204 shows error in this respect where he does not italicize. In every instance the MS. has ȝ.

205a. Heart for the brave man = The brave man must have courage.

206. Th. reads 'for the base in soul.' I read (*þæs hēanan hyge*), for the soul of the base (shall be thought) a most limited treasure. Cf. Brooke, 'And the smallest of hoards for the coward in soul.'

COTTON GNOMES

1. Note *ceastra* vs. Saxon *burh*. Stone masonry meant something mysterious to the Germans, who spoke of it as "burg of the giants," "the giants' ancient work." The use of stone, foreign to the north of Europe, spread from the southeast corner of the Mediterranean. Cf. Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 91, and see above, p. 107. — *gesýne*, visible. F., T., translate 'seen,' a word which should be reserved for the pp. of *gesēon*.

2. *enta*. B.-T., *ent*, 'a giant, gigas.' *orðanc enta geweorc*, cunning work of giants. Cf. *Beo.* 2718. Cf. Kr., *An.*, p. 138. T. overfreely translates, 'The work of the mind of giants,' which the case of *orðanc* forbids. Cf. *Gen.* vi, 4, 'There were giants on the earth in those days.'

3a. Cf. *Ruin*, 1, *wrætlic* is *þæs wealstān*.

3b. *swiftust*, the rarer form. Cf. Wr., § 444.

4. *þunar, syndan, hlūdast*, rarer forms. — *myccle*, cf. Wr., § 260. Ettm. *mycle*, but already the older form had given place to *myccle*.

5. *Wyrd*. Cf. B.-T., p. 1287, for various significations of this word; cf. also Kr., *An.*, 613b and note. An indication of heathen origin; the feeling seems to be more personal than, say, in *Gen.* 2355 where *Wyrd* is rather a 'cold abstraction.' My punct. of 5b-8a is somewhat clearer, I think, than that suggested by former Edd.

6. *lencten*, spring, confined to West Teutonic languages, has acquired an ecclesiastical meaning peculiar to England. In other Teutonic languages, the only sense is 'spring,' says the *NED.*, VI¹, p. 201. Cf. OHG. *lengizin* (shortened *lenzin*). The word may possibly have reference to the lengthening of days as characterizing spring. Cf. *lent-lilies*, *daffodils*, and 'Lenten ys come wiþ loue to tounē.' — *hrīmigost*, cf. *Men.*, 35, *hrīme gehyrsted* . . . *Martius*, and notes on spring in *JEG. Ph.*, V, 446 (*Hanscom, op. cit.*)

7. Summer is most sun-beautiful, i.e., beautiful from sun-shine. Cf. B.-T. p. 937. But H., '*æstivus sol est formosissimus*,' and F., T., 'Summer sun is most beautiful.' Note spelling *sunwlitegost* and (next line) *hrēðeade-gost*. For example in Alfred's prose of similar forms, cf. *Cos.*, § 43.

8. The poet, having spoken of winter, spring, and summer, completes the round of the seasons: *hærfest* is figurative for autumn. The word is confined to OHG. and Dutch, and was established after Tacitus. Cf. Schröder, *op. cit.*, p. 303. I translate, Autumn is most glorious. T's 'Fierce

harvest is the happiest' is nonsense. H., 'tempestivas autumnus'; F., 'Harvest is most blessed.'

9. MS. *gêres* may be Kentish or Anglian or late West-Saxon. Cf. Wr., § 124, note. In *Oros*. occur both *gêar* and *gēr*; in *Chr.* simply *gêar*. Cf. Cos., §§61. Cf. Hanscom, *op. cit.*, p. 441. With 5-9 cf. *Met.* 11 55-61, for similar relation of God to wind and change of seasons.

10. Truth is most treacherous. So the gnome must read according to MS. *swicolost*, which, as Ea. comments, has a 'strangely Machiavellian sound.' According to Chantepie de la Saussaye, truthfulness with the Norsemen did not preclude everything we are accustomed to regard as deceit; they made use in a treaty of ambiguous expressions. Cf. *op. cit.*, 409-410. But emendation in favor of simpler meaning is preferable. Sw. proposes *swutolost*, a change whereby the gnome falls readily into line with the others. But why not *switolost*? Palæographically this form is quite possible, *c* and *t* often being mistaken for each other. I read it into the text and translate, Truth is most clear, or evident. Cf. *The Instructions of King Cormac Mac Airt*, p. 22, l. 36, 'Everything true is sweet.' H., 'verus facillime decipitur,' with which cf. *Spr.*, II, 511: 'sich leicht entziehend, leicht entgehend?' Cf. B.-T., p. 954, 'occasioning offence?' T., 'Truth is most deserving.'

11-12. The old most wise, old in bygone years, who earlier experienced many things. Cf. B.-T., p. 354, for *fyrngêarum*; *Spr.*, I, 363. For *gebīdeð*, cf. *An.*, 1702, where the idea seems to be similar. With the thought, cf. *Hǫvamǫl*, stanza 133, and *Hambésmǫl*, 27. (See introd., p. 27.) Gummere notes that the very old were thrust away to die; but healthy old age and the wisdom of sagacious counsel were venerated. — *Germanic Origins*, p. 205.

13. *wundrum*, *Spr.*, II, 752, 'mirabiliter.' — *scriðað*: cf. l. 40, also *Beo.* 163, 651, etc.

14. *sceolan* for *sceolon*. Cf. note, l. 4. With the idea, cf. *Beo.* 20 ff. (See introd., p. 30.) Cf. also Gummere, *OEE.*, p. 23, substituting Cotton for Exeter. Cf. *Heliand*, 1018 ff.

16a. I read a period after *eorle*, Courage ought to be in a man. Cf. ON. proverb, *Öðlingr skyldi einkar-raoskar*. H., 'virtus in duce, et gladius cum galea, bellum tolerabunt.' So, F., T., translating, see in *hilde gebīdan* a complement to each half line of 16.

16b. MS. *hellme*, misspelling for *helme*. Cf. *Beo.* 2259, *hilde gebād*. Representations of ancient chessmen found in the isle of Lewis (*op. cit.* in *Arch.* XXIV, 203 ff.) show the sword held in the right hand resting against the helmet in the left.

17. The hawk shall on (or, sit on) the glove of the falconer, the wild one dwell; or, the hawk, though wild, shall accustom himself to the glove. Cf. *Fates of Men*, 85, *sum sceal wildne fugel wlonce atemian*, etc. — *glōfe*, H. translates (*glofe*), 'clivo'; B.-T., p. 481, 'a cliff'; *Spr.*, II, 516, '*rupes*?'; Brooke, 'cliff.'

19. By following the MS. one may read, The eagle in the haw. H.

translates, 'aquila in campo,' so F., T., 'eagle in field.' In Kent, a haw is a yard or enclosure. But by changing *earn* to *earm* and making one word of an + *haga* (emendation of Ettm., followed by Gr., Sw., W.) the passage becomes aligned with the preceding and the following gnomes. The miserable recluse, *i.e.* the wolf. Cf. *Beo.* 2369, *earm ānhaga*, and *Wand.* 1. Cf. also B.-T., supp. p. 42.

20a. *tōðmægenes* occurs only here.

20b. *til*, the good man. H. 'bonus civis.'

21. *dōmes wyrcean*, do justice, win glory or renown. Cf. *Beo.* 1388-1399. (See introd. p. 38.) Cf. also *Beo.* 1492, *dōm gewyrce*. For use of the gen. with *wyrcean*, cf. Sh., p. 63.

23a. *stēap and gēap*, cf. *Ruin*, 11, *stēap gēap*; *Gen.*, 2556, *fyr stēapes and gēapes*.

23b-24a. The stream shall in the waves mingle with sea-flood. H., 'Fluvius exundans faciet diluvium.' See footnote, and cf. B.-T., p. 675 (*mecgan*) and p. 678 (*mengan*). Cf. *Husband's Message*, 42, *mengan merestrēamas*. The passage, though obscure, seems to refer to a river which flows into the sea.

24b-25a. The mast shall on the ship, the sail-yard, rest. I make *segelgyrd* synonymous with *mæst*. H., 'Malus in navigio antennas sustinebit.' B.-T., p. 864, 'The mast shall be fixed in a boat and the yard hang from it.' *Spr.*, II, 424, glosses *segelgyrd* as a ptc., 'segelgürtet.'

25b-26a. Literally, sword shall in bosom, on bosom, or in the lap. Tupper thinks it probable that some rite of the comitatus may here be referred to as in *Gn. Ex.* 68-71. He cites *Beo.* 2195 and 1143. 2195, *þæt hē on Biowulfes bearm ālegde*, I think simply means that Hygelac laid the sword, as a gift, in Beowulf's lap. This is the view also of R. W. Chambers, "On his part, Hygelac gives Beowulf feudal domains, placing, as he does so, in Beowulf's bosom the sword of their common grandfather Hrethel." *Op. cit.*, p. 25. *Beo.* 1143 is an obscure passage which has been translated variously. Cf. Schücking, *op. cit.*, p. 111, and *MLN.*, XXV, 114. The old mode of holding the sword, assigned to royal personages, was across the knees and with both hands. In *Grimmesmål*, King Geirrod sits "ok hafpi sverþ um kné ok brugþit til mips." Cf. also illustrations in Wright's *Homes*, and in Sir F. Madden's article, *loc. cit.*, *Arch.* XXIV. On the whole, I am inclined to believe that the gnome refers to this custom. Read, the sword shall rest in the lap.

26b. A dragon shall dwell in a cavern, or on a mound. Cf. *Beo.* 2212-2213. For information about dragons, cf. Brandl, *op. cit.*, p. 996.

29b-30. Cf. *Gn. Ex.* 177 and see above, p. 96.

30b. Water from the hill shall travel, flood-gray. H., 'Aqua de montibus irruens inundationem luteam faciet.' F., T., 'Water will from the hill bring down the gray earth.' — *flōdgræg* occurs only here, but cf. *flintgrægne*, *Rid.* 4-19. Cf. Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 189 ff. B.-T. gives the compound *foldgræg*, and translates 'Earth-colored water shall proceed from a hill.' *Spr.*, I, 310, *foldgræg*, 'erdgrau.'

32b-33a. Cf. *Gn. Ex.* 160.

33b. *wudu* = tree. H., 'Sylvæ in terris fæcundæ floreunt.'

34a. *blōwan*, to bloom, survives only in dialect in Mn. E. With 33b-34a, cf. *Gn. Ex.* 25b-26a.

35. Mead notes that the favorite color in AS. poetry is green and that singularly enough the examples are found almost wholly in religious poems. Cf. *Guth.* 203, *grēne beorgas*.

36b-37a. Cf. *Beo.* 725, *recedes mūdān*. No meaningless figure. Cf. Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 105.

37. *rand*. Cf. *Rid.*, Tupper, p. 80, and cf. Wright, *Homes*, p. 85.

38b-39a. Cf. *Fates of Men*, 23.

39b-40a. The salmon shall in the sea glide with rapid movement. H., 'Salmo et raia in gurgitibus hinc illinc vagabuntur.' T., . . . 'will roll with the skate.' F., 'with shooting wander.' Cf. B.-T., p. 627, *leax*, and p. 839, *scot*, which is glossed 'shot,' and under which this line is quoted. *Spr.*, II, 407, 'motus rapidus.' Tupper suggests the possibility that *scēote* may be for *sceole* and cites *A Journey Spell*, 24 (Grendon, p. 178).

40. *i* in *scriðan* in later hand above the line.

41. Cf. *Met.* 20⁶¹.

42a. Cf. *Chr.* 872, *þeof þristlice, þe on þýstre færeð*. — *þystrum*, cf. footnote, and B.-T., p. 1052.

42b. *þyrs*, a demon in ON. mythology, a relic, as are *enta* and *wyrd* of early superstition in England. H., 'latro,' F., 'spectre.' Icel. *þurs*, 'a giant'; OHG., *durs*, 'dæmonium'; lit., 'the thirsty one.' Cf. B.-T., p. 1086. — "Man mag an Grendel, den aus der methalle verbannten, denken." Brandl, *op. cit.*, p. 960.

43b ff. A woman shall by secret craft seek her lover, if she does not wish publicly to be sought in marriage. Cf. *Gn. Ex.* 82-93, and see above, p. 91 ff. "Golden arm rings were the aristocratic present," *Germanic Origins*, p. 167. Marriage by purchase appears in its crudest form in Kent, where wives would seem to have been bought much in the same way as slaves or cattle. Cf. Chadwick, *Origin of the English Nation*, p. 324. Such a custom also seems to have prevailed in Wessex. If the lines are to be translated as above, a late origin is indicated: being bought was a reproach. But in the *Gn. Ex.*, *geþeōn* was used in a good sense and the purchase was honorable enough, something to be desired, according to old Germanic custom. By a slight emendation in 44b, the thought becomes similar to that in *Gn. Ex.*: *nelle* may be error for *wille*. The meaning then becomes, The woman shall by secret craft seek her friend, if she would thrive among the people, that she may be bought with rings. *dyrne* Sw. thinks an adv. periphrasis, 'secretly, clandestinely.' Cf. *Mü.*, p. 10; he regards 43b-45a as prose.

45b. The sea shall foam (welter) with salt. H., 'sale æstuabit.' Sw. thinks 'salt,' adj., better.

46. Air and water (cloud and flood) shall flow about each of all lands,

mountain (mountainous) streams. On *firgenstrēam*, see Lawrence's *Haunted Mere in Beowulf*, *PMLA.*, ns. XX, 2, 212. The chief point to be observed here is that the water is not salt. Cf. *Met.* 2075 ff., for the same idea. H., 'ærei imbres, diluvia et transgressi fluvii inundabunt omnes terras,' but prints *ealra land*.

48. *tungol*, any heavenly body; here probably the sun.

49. *meotud*. Vilmar thinks this word had its origin in heathendom, but was retained after the introduction of Christianity and applied to the Supreme Being. Cf. C. C. Ferrell, *Teutonic Antiquities in the AS. Genesis*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 4.

50. *geogoð*, later form; cf. l. 49, where *meotud*, older form, appears.

52-53. *fyrð wið fyrde*, *lāð wið lāþe*, examples of "grammatischer reim."

54a. *synne stēlan*. B.-T., 'charge with crime.' H., 'semper se obfirmabunt.' F., 'They shall always steal on each other.' T., 'Sin will steal on.' Sw., 'Institute injury or hostility.' Kock, *Angl.* XXVII, 229, thinks this passage, *Gen.* 1351-1352, and the two in *Beo.*, 1339-1344, 2485-2487, where the verb (*ge*)*stēlan* is employed, have been misunderstood, that the idea of accusing or upbraiding has developed into that of avenging. Cf. also Klaeber, *M. Ph.*, III, 261. Kock disagrees with Sw., on the basis that *synne* means an infringement of divine or human law, wrong-doing; it is not used of hostility in general, or looked on as lawful; it is used of wrongful hostility, or invasion, injury. The clause means call to account for perjury, avenge (wrongful) hostility. Cf. also *Beo.*, Schücking, p. 273. I hardly see that wrongful here applies; for I take it that the idea refers to the group collectively (50-53); hence, simply, avenge hostility.

54b. A comment on palæography here lets one into the workings of the scribe's mind. A hole in the MS. interfered with a long stemmed miniscule *h*, in the word *hycgean*; hence, the writer made a small squat capital *H*.

55b. *wearh hangian*. The outlaw shall hang, or be hanged; he shall fairly pay the penalty for that he before did, crime to mankind. *wearh*, 'villain,' 'outlaw,' not 'teufel,' according to Str. Beginning with 54b, H., 'In mundanis rebus prudens semper conari debet, ut exlex suspendatur, et ut ei bene rependantur injuriæ quas humano generi prius fecerat.' F., 'Ever shall the prudent strive about this world's labor to hang the thief; and compensate the more honest for the crime committed against mankind.' W. places only a comma after *gewinn*. My reading seems to offer the advantage of separating two sententious sayings which other Edd. have joined.

57-61. Mü. thinks these lines are prose, "wenigstens, 58, 59, denn die alliteration fällt in 58 auf sceal und in zweiten fusse auf syððan, während sie in 59a fehlt," *op. cit.*, p. 11.

59-60. . . . who for God depart after the day of death; they await, etc. Edd., 'who for God depart.' After their death-day they await, etc.

Cf. *Beo.* 440, ff. —

ðær gelyfan sceal,

Dryhtnes dōme sē þe hine dēað nimeð.

60. Sw. thinks *bidan*, inf., better.

62. *dāgol* and *dyrne*, stock phrase. Cf. *Chr.* 640, *El.* 1092, etc.

65-66 and the beginning of the *Chronicle* are shown in facsimile by Ea., op. p. xxxvi, *op. cit.*

NOTE ON METRICS

Since Mü. makes a complete analysis of meter, alliteration, and rhyme (*op. cit.*, pp. 39-49), since Kaluza tabulates all expanded lines according to type (*Eng. St.*, XXI; cf. p. 337, *Die Schwellverse in der Altenglischen Dichtung*, and esp. pp. 356-376), and Theodor Schmitz works out the percentages of such lines (*Angl.* XXXIII; cf. pp. 1-76, 172-218, *Die Sechstakter in der Altenglischen Dichtung*, and esp. pp. 216-217), it seems unnecessary to recapitulate here in detail. Moreover, I have already called attention to *ljōðaháttr* forms. It may be worth while noting, however, that the gnomes show altogether 27.5% expanded lines; *Gn. C.* contain 12%, *Gn. Ex.*, 33%.

V

GLOSSARY

The order is alphabetic: the ligature æ is treated as equivalent in rank to a; initial ʒ follows t. Arabic numerals indicate the classes of ablaut verbs according to Sievers' classification; W₁, etc., the classes of the weak verbs; R the reduplicating, PP the preterit-present verbs. Mood and tense are indicated only when other than indicative present. The citations are meant to be complete. References are to the Exeter Gnomes unless C. is prefixed.

A

ā, adv., *always*: 20, 104, 152, 178, 206, C. 54.

Ābel, pr. n., *Abel*: gs. Ābeles 195.

ābrēoðan, 2, *degenerate, deteriorate*: 3 sg. ābrēoþeð 66.

ac, conj., *but*: 11, 152.

ācwelan, 4, *die, perish*: opt. 3 sg. ācwele 114.

ācýpan, W₁, *show, confirm*: inf. 49.

ādī, fn., *disease, sickness*: ns. 10, 31, 118.

æfter, prep. w. dat., *after*: C. 60.

āgan, PP, *own, possess*: pret. 3 sg. āhte 175.

āgen, adj., *own, proper*: nsm. 98.

æghwær, adv., *everywhere*: 89.

æht, f., *goods, property*: ap. æhte 157.

āhycgan, W₃, *devise, invent*: pret. 3 pl. āhogodan 202.

āhyrdan, W₁, *harden, temper*: pret. 3 pl. āhyrdon 202.

ālædan, W₁, *lead, lead out*: opt. 3 sg. ālæde 48.

ælc, pron., *each, every*: nsm. 169.

ælde, m., *men*: dp. ældum 197, 200.

æled, m., *fire*: as. 80.

ælmih̄tig, adj., *almighty*: nsm. 17; asm. ælmih̄tigne 10.

alwālda, m., *All-ruler, God*: ns. 133.

ālȳfan, W₁, *permit, grant*: pp. ālȳfed 110.

æmetan, æmetian, ? *be idle, vacant*: inf. 184.

ān, num., 1. *one, certain one*: nsm. 75; gsm. ānes 175.—2. *alone*: nsm. āna 29, 42, 173, C. 43, C. 57, C. 62.

and, conj., *and* (in the MS. all occurrences are represented by the abbreviation): 3, 6, 18, 24, 28, 46, 48, 58, 85, 88, 92, 97, 98, 99, 110, 121, 137, 142, 143, 157, 160, 162, 163, 167, 179, 202, 204, 206; C. 11, C. 15, C. 23, C. 30, C. 46, C. 48, C. 59, C. 62.

āndæge, adj., *lasting a day?* nsm. 195.

ange, adj., *troubled, sorrowful*: nsn. onge 42. (See notes.)

ānhaga, m., *solitary one*: ns. C. 19.

anweald, m., *empire, rule, power*: gs. anwealdes 59.

ār, f., *oar*: ns. 188.

ær, adj., *early*: nsf. 31.

ær, adv., *before, formerly, earlier*: 21, 49, 114, 181, C. 12, C. 56.

- sup. *ārest*, *first*, *at first*: 4, 83, 90.
- ær*, conj., *before*: 192.
- āræð*, adj., *resolute*, *courageous*: 193.
- āræran*, W₁, *uplift*, *raise up*: pret. 3 sg. *ārærde* 16.
- āreccan*, W₁, *explain*, *expound*: inf. 141.
- ārisan*, 1, *arise*, *come to be*: 3 sg. *āriseð* 161.
- ær þon*, conj., *before*: 111.
- āspringan*, 3, *spring out*, *lack*, *fail*: 3 sg. *āspringeð* 38.
- æt*, prep. w. dat., *at*, *in*: 5, 64, 137.
- ātemian*, W₁, *tame*, *subdue*: pp. asm. *ātemedne* 47.
- ætgeofa*, m., *food-giver*, *provider*: ns. 98.
- ætrenmōð*, adj., *venom-minded*: nsm. 163.
- ætsomne*, adv., *at once*, *together*: 93, 179, C. 31.
- æpeling*, m., 1. *nobleman*, *prince*: as. C. 14.—2. *people* (in a good sense): gp. *æpelinga* 90.
- aðolware*, pl. m., *citizens* (but see notes): dp. *apolwarum* 200.
- āwegan*, 5, *take or carry away*: pp. *āwegan* 21.

B

- bæc*, n., *back*: dp. *bacum* 192.
- bædan*, W₁, *compel*, *constrain*, *solicit*: 3 sg. *bædeð* 100.
- be*, prep. w. dat., *about*, *beside*, *by*: 113.
- beadu*, f., *battle*, *war*: as. *beadwe* 62; ds. *beaduwe* C. 15.
- bēag*, m., *ring*, *bracelet*, *collar*: ns. 131; dp. *bēagum* 83, C. 45; ap. *bēagas* C. 29.
- bēahgifu*, f., *distribution of rings*, *gifts*: ds. *bēahgife* C. 15.
- bealoblonden*, pp., *bale-mixed*, *pernicious*: nsm. 198.
- bealolēas*, adj., *innocent*: nsf. 39.
- bēam*, m., *tree*: ns. 25, 159.
- bearn*, m., *bosom*, *lap*: ds. *bearme* C. 25.
- bearn*, n., *child*, *offspring*: as. or ap. 25.
- bearu*, m., *grove*: ds. *bearowe* C. 18.
- bebēoðan*, 2, *command*: 3 sg. *bebēad* C. 49.
- befēolan*, 3, *commit*, *deliver*: inf. 115.
- bēgen*, adj., *both*: npm. 175, 177; npn. *bū* 62, 83; gpmf. *bēga* 17; dpmf. *bām* 93, 154.
- behlīgan*, 1, *dishonor*, *defame*: 3 sg. *bilihð* 65, *behlīð* 101.
- behōfian*, W₂, *have need of*, *need*, *require*: 3 sg. *behōfað* 45.
- bēoðan*, 2, *offer*: 3 sg. *bēodeð* 60.
- bēon*, see *wesan*.
- beorgan*, 3, *save*, *protect*: 3 pl. *beorgað* 36.
- beorh*, m., *hill*: ns. C. 34.
- beorhte*, adv., *brightly*: C. 49.
- bera*, m., *bear*: ns. C. 29; as. *beran* 177.
- betera*, *betre*, adj., *better* (comp. of *bet*, *good*): nsn. *betre* 175.
- bewindan*, 3, *encircle*, *surround*: 3 sg. *bewindeð* 150.
- bewitian*, W₂, *observe*: inf. 40.
- bī*, prep. w. dat., *by*, *about*: 146 (see *be*).
- bīðan*, 1, *wait*, *rest*: 3 pl. *bīðað* C. 60; inf. 68.
- bīlīhð*, see *behlīgan*.
- bilwit*, adj., *merciful*, *mild*: gp. *bilwitra* 161.
- bindan*, 3, *bind*: pp. *gebunden* 38, 94.
- blæd*, f., *flower*, *blossom*: dp. *blædum* C. 34.
- blind*, adj., *blind*: nms. 39.

blīpe, adj., *joyful, glad, cheerful*: nsf. 39.

blōd, n., *blood*: is. blōde 195.

blōwan, R, *bloom, blossom*: inf. C. 34.

bōc, f., *book*: np. bēc 131.

bōg, m., *shoulder* (hence, *back*): ds. bōge 63.

boga, m., *bow*: ns. 154.

boldāgend, m., *house-owner*: dp. boldāgendum 93.

bord, n., 1. *board, shield*: ns. 95.
— 2. *deck of ship* (hence, *ship*): ds. borde 183, 188.

borde, f., *table, embroidery board*? ds. bordan 64.

brædan, W₁, *grow, raise up, spread out*: inf. 160.

brēost, n., *breast, heart, mind*: as. 161; dp. brēostum 123.

brim, n., *sea, surf*: ns. C. 45.

bringan, W₁, *bring*: 3 sg. bringeð C. 8.

brōðor, m., *brother*: as. brōpor 175, 198.

brycgian, W₂, *bridge, bridge over*: inf. 73.

brȳd, f., *bride*: ds. brȳde 131.

bū, see **bēgen**.

būne, f., *cup*: dp. būnum 83.

bycgan, W₁, *buy, procure*: 3 sg. bygeþ 111.

byldan, W₁, *encourage, exhort*: inf. C. 15.

C

Cain, pr. n., *Cain*: as. 199.

calcrond, adj., *shod? round of hoof?*: gsm. calcrondes 143.

ceald, adj., *cold*: nsm. C. 6; sup. cealdost nsm. C. 5.

cēap, m., *cattle, goods*: ds. cēape 82; as. 108.

ceaster, f., *city, castle, town*: np. ceastra C. 1.

cempa, m., *soldier*: ds. cempan 130.

cēne, adj., *bold*: dsm. or dpm. cēnum 61, 205; npm. cēne 59.

cennan, W₁, *beget, create, bring forth*: inf. 24, C. 28.

cēol, m., *keel, ship*: ns. 97; ds. cēole 186, C. 24.

ceorl, m., *man, husband*: ns. 97.

cildgeong, adj., *young as a child*: asm. cildgeongne 49.

cīð, m., *germ, sprig, sprout*: ap. cīpas 75.

clæne, adj., *pure*: asf. clæne 44.

clibbor, adj., *clinging, cleaving*: nsm. C. 13.

cræft, m. *skill, science, cunning*: ds. cræfte C. 43.

Crist, pr. n., *Christ*: gs. Crīstes C. 4.

cuman, 4, *come*: 3 sg. cymeþ 30, cymeð 35, 106, 109, C. 63; opt. 3 sg. cyme 42; pp. cumen 97; inf. 77, C. 41.

cunnan, PP, 1. *know*: 3 sg. con 170; opt. 2 sg. cunne 2; opt. 3 sg. cunne 46. — 2. *can, be able*: 3 sg. con 171.

cūð, adj., *known*: nsn. cūþ 199; gsm. cūþes 143.

cwealm, mn., *torture, death, plague, murder*: ns. 30, 199.

cwēn, f., *a woman, a queen*: gs. cwēne 82; ds. cwēne 127.

cwic, adj., *living*: asm. cwicne 114.

cyn, n., *race, people, tribe, progeny*: gs. cynnes 32; ds. cynne 138, 194, C. 57.

cyning, m., *king*: ns. 59, 82, 108, C. 1, C. 28.

cynren, n., *kindred, kind*: as. C. 28.

cȳpan, W₁, *sell*: 3 sg. cȳpeþ 109.

cȳð, f., 1. *knowledge*. — 2. *region, place, land*: ds. cȳþe 30 (see notes).

D

- dæd**, f., *deed*: gp. *dæda* C. 36.
dæg, m., *day*: gs. *dæges* 141.
dælan, W₁, *share, divide*: inf. C. 29.
darod, m., *dart, spear*: ns. C. 21.
dēad, adj., *dead*: gsm. *dēades* 81; dsm. *dēadum* 149; gp. *dēada* 79.
dēað, m., *death*: ns. 35, 181; *dēap* 117; ds. *dēape* C. 51.
dēaðdæg, m., *day of death*: ds. *dēaðdæge* C. 60.
dēgol, n., *secret, mystery*: as. *dēgol* 2.
dēmend, m., *judge*: ns. C. 36.
dēop, adj., *deep, mysterious*: nsm. 79.
dēope, adv., *deeply, thoroughly*: sup. *dēopost* 2.
dēor, n., *animal, wild animal*: ns. 148, 177.
dēore, adj., *dear*: sup. nsn. *dēorost* C. 10.
dīgol, adj., *secret, obscure*: nsf. C. 62.
dōgor, mn., *day*: gp. *dōgra* 28.
dol, adj., *foolish*: nsm. 35.
dōm, m., 1. *power, honor, glory*: ns. 81; as. 141. — 2. *judgment, sentence*: gs. *dōmes* C. 21, C. 60.
dōn, anv., *do, perform*: pret. 3 sg. *dyde* C. 56.
draca, m., *dragon, serpent*: ns. C. 26.
dreca, W₁, *vex, afflict*: 3 sg. 9.
drēogan, 2, *fight*: pret. 3 pl. *dru-gon* 201.
drihten, m., *Lord*: ns. C. 62; as. *dryhten* 35.
drihtlic, adj., *lordly, noble*: nsn. C. 26.
drūgian, W₂, *become dry*: 3 sg. *drūgað* 188.
dūn, f., *mountain, hill, down*: ds. *dūne* C. 30.

duru, f., *door*: ns. C. 36.

dyrne, adj., *secret, hidden*: nsm. 79; nsf. C. 62; asn. *dyrne* 2; ism. *dyrne* C. 43.

E

- ēa**, f., *water, stream, river*: ns. C. 30.
ēadig, adj., 1. *rich*: nsm. 108; ds. or dp. *ēadgum* 157. — 2. *happy, blessed*: nsm. 37.
eafora, m., *son*: np. *eaforan* 176.
ēage, n., *eye*: ds. *ēagan* 123; gp. *ēagna* 39.
eald, adj., *old, ancient*: nsm. C. 30.
ealdian, W₂, *grow old*: inf. 8, 158.
eall, adj., *all*: asn. 136; dsn. *eallum* 137; gpn. *ealra* C. 46.
eard, m., *land, country, region*: ap. *eardas* 15.
earg, adj., *timid, weak*: asm. *eargne* 188.
earm, adj., *poor, wretched*: nsm. 37, 173, C. 19.
ēce, adj., *eternal*: nsm. 8, 200.
ecg, f., *edge, blade*: ns. 204, C. 16.
edhwyrft, m., *change, return*: ns. 42.
efenfela, adj., indecl., *so many, as many*: 17.
eft, adv., *again, afterwards*: 77, 105, 137, 157, C. 63.
egesfull, adj., *fearful, terrible*: nsm. C. 30.
ēglond, n., *island*: ns. 15.
ēgsa, m., *owner, possessor*: gs. *ēgsan* 107.
ellen, mn., *strength, courage*: ns. C. 16; ds. *elne* 188.
ende, m., *end*: ds. *ende* 137.
ent, m., *giant*: gp. *enta* C. 2.
eodor, m., *prince, protector*: as. 90.
eofo, m., *boar*: ns. c. 19; as. 176.

ēoh, m., *war-horse*: gs. ēos 63.
eorl, m., *leader, nobleman, man*:
 ns. 63; ds. eorle 84, 176, C. 16, C.
 32.
eorod, n., *host, army, band*: ns.
 63.
eorðe, f., *earth*: ns. eorþe 73,
 eorðe 195; gs. eorþan 75; ds.
 eorþan 7, 25, 115 (?), C. 34,
 C. 47, eorðan C. 2; as. eorþan 33,
 168, 201.
etan, 5, *eat*: 3 sg. ieteð 112.
ēðel, mn., *home, native place*: ds.
 ēþle 37, ēðle C. 20.

F

fācen, n., *crime*: as. C. 56.
fæder, m., *father*: ns. C. 63; gs.
 fæder C. 61; as. fæder 5.
fæge, adj., *doomed, fated*: ns. 27.
fægre, adv., *fairly, beautifully*: 5;
 fægere C. 56.
fæhpo, f., *vengeance, feud, hostility*:
 ns. 194.
fāh, adj., *staining, stained, dyed*:
 nsm. C. 22.
fæmne, f., *woman, maid*: ns. 64,
 C. 44.
fæst, adj., *sure, fast*: nsn. C. 38.
fæste, adv., *fast, firmly*: 53, 64.
fæsthȳdig, adj., *steadfast in mind*:
 gp. fæsthȳdigra 102.
fæðm, m., *bosom, embrace*: ds.
 fæðme C. 61.
fæðman, W₁, *embrace, contain*:
 3 sg. fæþmeþ 14.
fēala, see *fela*.
fealu, adj., *yellow, dun, dull-*
colored: npf. fealwe 53 (ȳða
 implied).
fēdan, W₁, *feed*: opt. 3 sg. fēde
 114; inf. 115.
fela, adj., indecl., 1. *many*: np. 32;
 ap. fela 14, 165, feala C. 12. —

2. *many a (one)*: ns. 102₂. —
 3. *much*: as. 144.
felafæcne, adj., *very crafty, evil*:
 ns. felafæcne 148 (see notes).
felameahtig, adj., *much, mighty*:
 nsm. 76.
fen(n), m., *fen, marsh*: ds. fenne
 C. 42.
feoh, n., *cattle*: ns. C. 47.
fēond, m., *enemy, foe*: ns. C. 52.
feor, adv., *far, at a distance*: 103,
 146.
feorhcyn, n., *living kind*: gp.
 feorhcynna 14.
feorran, adv., *from afar, far off*:
 C. 1.
fēran, W₁, *go, pass, travel*: 3 sg.
 fēreð 146; inf. 27, C. 31.
ferð, mn., *soul, mind*: ns. 19;
 as. 1.
feter, f., *fetter, chain*: ap. fetre 76.
fēpa, m., *infantry, band on foot*:
 ns. 64.
finger, m., *finger*: gp. fingra C. 38.
firas, mpl., *living beings, men*:
 gp. fira 32, 144, fȳra 194.
firgenstrēam, m., *mountain-*
stream: np. firgenstrēamas C.
 47.
fisc, m., *fish*: ns. C. 27.
flōdgræg, adj., *flood-gray, muddy*:
 nsf. C. 31.
flota, m., *ship, fleet*: ns. 96.
flōwan, R, *flow*: inf. C. 47.
folce, n., *folk, people*: ds. folce
 C. 44. (*on folce, publicly*.)
folde, f., *earth, world*: ds. foldan
 32, C. 33.
for, prep. w. dat. and acc. 1. *for,*
for the sake of (w. dat.): 16, C.
 59. — 2. *for, because of* (w. dat.):
 149. — 3. *before* (w. acc.) 89.
forcwepan, 5, *rebuke*: inf. 49.
forgiefan, 5, *give, grant, supply*:
 pret. 3 sg. forgeaf 136.
forgietan, 5, *forget*: inf. 183.

forhelan, 4, *cover over, conceal*: inf. 116.
forlēosan, 2, *lose, destroy*: opt. 3 sg. forlēose 188.
forman, adj., *first, earliest*: apn. 91.
forsōð, adv., *truly, certainly*: C. 64.
forst, m., *frost*: ns. 72; gs. forstes 76.
forstelan, 4, *steal, deprive*: pp. forstolen 190.
forð, adv., *henceforth, forth*: 165.
forðgesceaft, f., *future condition*: ns. C. 61.
forþon þe, conj., *for, because*: 5.
frætwe, pl. f., *ornaments*: inst. frætweum C. 27.
frēa, m., *lord*: gs. frēan 91.
fremde, adj., *strange, foreign*: apm. fremde 103.
fremman, W₁, *perform, do*: inf. 62.
frēond, m., *friend*: as. 146, C. 44; np. frýnd 37.
frēosan, 2, *freeze*: inf. 72.
frēon, frēogan, W₂, *love, court*: 3 sg.? frēoð 103 (see notes).
fricgan, 5, *ask, question*: imp. 2 sg. frige 1.
frōd, adj., 1. *wise*: nsm. 19, C. 12; asm. frōdne 19; dpn. frōdum 1.—2. *old, ancient*: nsm. C. 27.
frymð, mf., *beginning, origin*: ds. frymþe 5.
Frysa, adj., *Frisian*: dsn. Frysan 96.
fugel, m., *fowl, bird*: ns. C. 38.
ful, adv., *very, full*: 148, 187.
full, n., *cup*: ap. fulle 91.
fundian, W₂, *hasten, tend to*: inf. 52.
furpum, adv., *at first, even*: 194.
ūs, adj., *ready, prepared, ready for death*: nsm. 27.
ȳr, n., *fire*: ns. 72.

fyrð, f., *army*: ns. C. 31, C. 52; ds. fyrde C. 52.
fyrn, adv., *formerly, long ago*: 165.
fyrngēar, n., *a former year*: dp. fyrngēarum C. 12.
fyrwetgeorn, adj., *curious, inquisitive*: gp. fyrwetgeonra 102.

G

gamelian, W₂, *grow old*: 3 sg. gomelað 11.
gangan, anv., *go, take place, occur*: inf. gongan 125, gangan C. 42.
gār, m., *arrow, dart*: ns. 203, C. 22.
gārniþ, m., *spear battle*: ns. 128.
gæst, m., *spirit, soul*: ds. gæste 11; np. gāstas C. 59.
gēap, adj., *broad, extended*: nsm. C. 23.
gēar, n., *year*: gs. gēres C. 9.
gearnian, 2, *earn, merit*: inf. 140.
gearo, adj., *ready, prepared*: nsm.? geara 193; nsn. gearo 203.
gebædan, W₁, *compel*: inf. 105.
gebeorh, n., *protection*: ns. C. 38.
gebiggan, W₁, *buy, procure*: opt. 3 sg. gebicge C. 45; inf. 82.
gebīdan, 1, *await, look for*: 3 sg. gebīdeð C. 12; inf. 105, C. 17.
geblandan, R, *mix, mingle*: pp. geblanden C. 41.
gebringan, 3, *bring, produce*: 3 sg. gebringeð 51.
gebyrd, f., *birth*: dp. gebyrdum 25.
gebyre, m., *favorable time, opportunity*: ns. 105.
gecost, adj., *tried, chosen*: gsm. gecostes 143.
gecynd, f., *nature*: ds. gecynde 59.
gedælan, W₁, *divide, distribute*: opt. 3 sg. gedælen 69; pp. gedæled 80.

- gedāl**, n., *parting, separating*: as. 28.
- gedēfe**, adj., *seemly, fit, decent*: nsm. 117; nsn. 189.
- gedyrnan**, W₁, *conceal, hide, keep secret*: pp. gedyrned 117.
- gefēra**, m., *companion*: ns. 148; dp. gefēran 147.
- gegierwan**, W₁, *prepare, make ready*: pp. gegierwed 69.
- gegrētan**, W₁, *greet*: inf. 90.
- gehealdan**, R, *keep, hold, restrain, save*: pp. gehealden 122; inf. 101.
- gehēgan**, W₁, *do, perform, hold*: inf. 18.
- gehnigan**, 1, *bow*: inf. 118.
- gehwā**, pron., *each, every, everything*: dsm. gehwām 28, C. 11.
- gehwylc**, pron., *each, every one*: nsm. 125; dsm. gehwylcum 145, 166; asn. C. 46.
- gelæran**, W₁, *teach, advise, persuade*: 3 pl. gelærað 20.
- gelic**, adj., *like*: nsmn. 19; nsn.? 154.
- gelic**, adv.? *similarly, alike*: 154.
- gemæcca**, mf., *companion, mate, consort*: ds. 155; np. gemæccan 23.
- gemæne**, adj., *mutual*: nsm. 54.
- gemet**, n., *measure, limit*: ns. 33.
- gemonian**, W₂, *admonish, remind*: inf. 6.
- gēn**, adv., *still, yet*: 11.
- genægled**, pp., *nailed*: 94.
- geŋge**, adj., *current, prevalent*: nsn. 121.
- geniman**, 4, *take, accept*: 3 sg. genimeð 147.
- genugan**, 2, *satisfy, suffice*: 3 sg. geneah 70, 184?
- gēocor**, adj., *sad, harsh*: gp. (sb. use) gēocran 183.
- geofu**, f., *gift*: dp. geofum 84.
- geofen**, n., *sea, ocean*: ns. 52.
- geogoð**, f., *youth*: ns. C. 50.
- geond**, prep. w. acc., *through, throughout*: 161, 201.
- geong**, adj., *young*: ns. 8; asm. geongne 45, C. 14.
- georn**, adj., *desirous, eager*: nsm. 59.
- gēr**, see gēar.
- geræcan**, W₁, *reach, offer, present*: inf. 92.
- geræde**, n., *trappings, harness?*: ap. gerædan 178.
- gerisan**, 1, *suit, befit*: 3 sg. geriseð 64, 67, geriseþ 126; 3 pl. gerisað 166.
- gesceaft**, fn., *fate, destiny, condition*: ns. C. 65; as. gesceafte 183.
- gesēcean**, W₁, *seek, get*: inf. C. 44.
- gesecgan**, W₁, *tell, say*: inf. 2.
- geset**, n., *seat, habitation*: np. gesetu C. 66.
- gesigan**, 1, *languish, decline*: inf. 118.
- gesihð**, f., *vision, sight*: gs. gesihpe 40.
- gesingan**, 3, *sing*: inf. 140.
- gesittan**, 5, *sit*: 3 pl. gesittað 58.
- gesioð**, m., *companion, fellow*: np. gesioðas C. 14; dp. gesiþum 58.
- gesioðmægen**, n., *multitude of companions, courtier-train*: as. 89.
- gespringan**, 3, 1. trans. *get by going, cause to spring*: 3 sg. gespringeð 65. — 2. intrans. *spring, arise*: pret. 3 pl. gesprungon 196.
- gestrynan**, W₁, *get, acquire, gain*: 3 sg. gestryneð 144.
- gestýran**, W₁, *restrain, withhold*: 3 sg. gestýreð 106.
- gesund**, adj., *sound, favorable*: dpn. gesundum 58.
- geswican**, 1, w. dat., *deceive, betray*: 3 pl. geswicað 37.

- gesýne**, adj., *visible, plain*: npf. gesýne C. 1.
- getēon**, W₂, *make, assign, decree*: pret. 3 sg. getēode 5, 71; pp. geteod 174.
- getrum**, n., *band, company*: ns. C. 32; ds. getrume 63.
- geþēon**, W₁, *do, perform*: inf. C. 44.
- geþēon**, 1, *grow, prosper*: inf. 50, 85.
- geðihhan**, 1, *thrive, prosper*: 3 sg. geðihð 37.
- geðingian**, W₂, *make terms, settle a dispute*: pp. geþingad 57.
- geðoht**, mn., *thought, mind*: ap. geþohtas 3.
- geðonc**, mn., *thought, mind, understanding*: ap. geþonc 12.
- geðwære**, adj., *harmonious, peaceful*: npf. geþwære 57.
- gepyldig**, adj., *patient, long-suffering*: nms. 12.
- gewealdan**, R, *rule, command*: pp. gewealden 122.
- geweaxan**, R, *grow, increase*: inf. 85.
- geweorc**, n., *work*: ns. C. 2, C. 3.
- geweorpan**, 3, *go away, depart, pass*: inf. 77.
- geweorðan**, 3, *be, become*: pret. 3 sg. gewearð 165.
- gewin**, n., *battle, contest*: as. 201, gewinn C. 55.
- gewit**, m., *knowledge, understanding*: ds. gewitte 48.
- gewitan**, 1, *go, depart*: 3 sg. gewiteþ 30, 103.
- gewunian**, W₂, *dwell, remain*: inf. C. 18, C. 42.
- gied**, n., *proverb, tale, riddle*: ns. 167; dp. gieddum 4.
- giefu**, f., *gift*: as. giefe 172 (see *geofu*).
- gif**, conj., *if*: 3, 34, 44, 71, 106, 111, 114, 176, C. 44.
- gifan**, 5, *give*: inf. 156.
- gifre**, adj., *greedy*: nsm. 70.
- gifstōl**, m., *gift-seat, throne*: ns. 69.
- glm**, m., *gem, jewel*: ns. C. 22.
- glēoman**, m., *gleeman, singer*: ds. glēomen 167.
- glēaw**, adj., *wise*: npm. glēawe 4.
- glīw**, n., *glee*: gs. glīwes 172.
- glōf**, f., *glove*: ds. glōfe C. 17.
- gnornian**, W₁, *grieve, mourn, lament*: inf. 26.
- gōd**, n., *good, goodness*: ns. 121, C. 50.
- gōd**, adj., *good*: ns. 84; nsm. 128; npm. gōde C. 14.
- god**, m., *God*: ns. 8, 17, 76, 134, 156, 164, 172, C. 9, C. 35; ds. gode C. 59; as. god 4, 121.
- gold**, n., *gold*: ns. 126, C. 11; ds. golde 70, C. 22; as. 156.
- gomen**, n., *game, sport*: as. 183.
- gomol**, adj., *old, aged*: nsm. C. 11.
- græf**, n., *grave*: ns. 149.
- græg**, græg, adj., *grey*: nsm. græga 151; ds. græggum 149.
- grēne**, adj., *green*: nsm. C. 35.
- grētan**, W₁, *greet*: inf. 171.
- grim**, adj., *severe, terrible, bitter*: dp. grimmum 52.
- grome**, adv., *fiercely, cruelly*: 52.
- grōwan**, R, *grow, sprout*: 3 sg. grōweð 159; inf. 73.
- gryre**, m., *horror, dread, terror*: ns. 149.
- guman**, m., *man*: ns. 70; gs. guman 126; ds. guman 167; np. guman 69; gp. gumena C. 11; dp. gumum 128.
- gūð**, f., *war, battle, fight*: ns. 84.
- gūðbord**, n., *warlike board, shield*: ns. 203.
- gȳman**, W₁, *care for, take care of, regard*: 3 sg. gȳmeð 164.

H

habban, W₃, *have, hold, possess*:
3 sg. hafað 107, 169, hafaþ 172,
174; 3 pl. habbað 21, 57; opt. 3
sg. hæbbe 47; inf. 183.

hafuc, m., *hawk*: ns. C. 17.

hāl, adj., *whole, hale, safe*: nsm.
106.

hælu, f., *health*: as. hæle 44.

hæleð, m., *man, warrior, hero*:
np. hæleð 66; dp. hæleðum C. 8.

hālig, adj., *holy*: dsm. hālgum 132.

hām, m., *home*, ds. hām 97; as.
106.

hand, f., *hand*: ns. hond 68, 122,
184?; ds. hond 91, handa C. 21;
dp. hondum 171.

hangian, W₂, *hang, be suspended*:
inf. C. 55.

hærfest, m., *harvest, autumn*: ns.
C. 8.

hāt, adj., *hot, fervent*: nsm. 78;
sup. nsn. hātost C. 7.

hātan, R, *command*: pret. 3 sg.
hēt 165.

hæð, f., *heath, waste*: ds. hæðe
C. 29.

hæðen, adj., *heathen*: dsm. hæþ-
num 132.

hē, pron., *he*: nsm. 5, 6, 11₃, 12,
42, 44, 46, 49, 50, 53, 105, 111₂,
113, 114₃, 175, 186, 188, C. 6,
C. 56, C. 66; nsf. h̄y 65, 103, hēo
98, hī 101, hēo C. 44; nsn. hit
113; gsm. his 35, 37₂, 38, 39, 41,
97, 99, 100, 172, 188, 198; gsf.
h̄yre 64, 66, 86, 97, hīre C. 44;
dsm. him 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43₂,
48, 99, 100, 105, 106, 110, 146,
147, 169, 170, 172₂, 174, 175; dsn.
him C. 49; asm. hine 9, 47, 48,
49₂, 69, 98, 112, 114, 148; asf. h̄y
56, 66, hī C. 45; asn. hit 42, 116,
152; np. hī 20, 40, 57, 175, 176,
h̄y 182, 191, 192; gp. h̄yra 19, 36,

182; dp. him 54₂, 58, 92, 179, 182,
183, C. 9; ap. hī 34, h̄y 181.

hēaf, m., *lamentation, weeping*:
ds. hēafe 150.

hēafod, n., *head*: as. heofod 68.

hēafodgim, mf., *head jewel, eye*:
ds. heofodgimme 44.

hēahsetl, n., *high seat, throne*:
ds. hēahsetle 70.

healdan, R, *keep, preserve, hold*:
3 pl. healdað 36, 54, 58; inf. 87,
145, C. 1 (*rice healdan, rule*).

heall, f., *hall*: ds. healle C. 28, C.
36.

hēan, adj., *low, humble, abject*,
base: nsm. 118; gsm. ? hēanan
206.

heard, adj. = *hard*; *brave*: ds.
heardum 153, 205.

hearpe, f., *harp*: as. hearpan 171.

helan, 4, *conceal*: 2 sg. hylest 3.

helm, m., *helmet, covering*: ns.
205; ds. hellme C. 16; as. 74.

hēofan, W₁, *lament, grieve, wail*:
3 sg. hēofeð 150.

heofen, m., *heaven*: dp. heofe-
num C. 35, C. 40, C. 48.

heofod, see **heafod**.

heonan, adv., *hence, from hence*:
30.

heoro, m., *sword*: as. 202.

heorte, f., *heart*: ns. 39; gs. heor-
tan 3; as. heortan 44.

hēr, adv., *here*: C. 64.

hergan, W₁, *praise, glorify*: inf. 4.

hider, adv., *hither*: C. 64.

hild, f., *war, battle*: as. hilde C.
17.

hinder, adv., *down, behind*: 116.

hlāw, m., *cave*: ds. hlāwe C. 26.

hlēor, n., *cheek, face*: ns. 66.

hlūd, adj., *loud*: sup. nsm. hlū-
dast C. 4.

holen, m., *holly*: ns. 80.

holm, m., *wave, sea, ocean*: ns.
51, 106.

holt, mn., *holt, wood, grove*: ds. holte C. 19.
hord, mn., *hoard, treasure*: ns. 68, 206.
hosp, m., *reproach, contumely*: is. hospē 66.
hrægl, n., *garment, dress*: as. 99.
hrēðēadig, adj., *glorious, noble*: sup. hrēðēadegost C. 8.
hrīmīg, adj., *rimy, covered with hoar-frost*: sup. nsm. hrīmīgost C. 6.
hring, m., *ring*: ds. hringe C. 22.
hrōf, m., *roof*: ap. hrōfas C. 64.
hrūse, f., *ground*: ds.? 116.
hungor, m., *hunger, famine*: ds. hungre 150.
hūru, adv., *certainly, in any case*: 151.
hūsl, n., *the housel, the Eucharist*: ns. 132.
hwā, pron., *who*: nsm. 114.
hwær, adv., *where*: 30; *everywhere* ? 193.
hwæðer, adv., *still, yet, however*: 53.
hweorfan, 3, *turn, go*: 3 pl. hweorfað C. 59; inf. 67, C. 58.
hwonne, adv., *when*: 69, 105.
hwyder, adv., *whither*: C. 58.
hwylc, pron., *what*, ns. C. 65.
hycgean, W₂, *take thought, think*: inf. C. 54.
hyge, m., 1. *mind, heart, thought*: ns. 122; ds. hyge 206. — 2. *courage*: ns. 205.
hygecræft, m., *intellect, wisdom*: as. hygecræft 3.

I

ic, pron., *I*: ns. 2; ds. mē 3; as. mec 1; np. wē 71, 136; dp. ūs 5, 8, 12, 71, 136; ap. ūsic 6.
ican, W₁, *increase, augment, eke*: 3 sg. ŷceð 31.

ides, f., *woman*: ns. C. 43.
idel, adj., *idle, unemployed*: nsf. idle 184?
iernan, 3, *run*: opt. 3 sg. yrne 186.
ieteð, see etan.
in, adv., *in, inside*: 98.
in, prep. w. dat. and acc. 1. *in, on, within, at, by* (w. dat.): 7, 11, 37, 41, 52, 67, 68, 84, 123₂, 186. — 2. *into, to* (w. acc.): 24, 80, C. 41.
inbindan, 3, *for onbindan*? *un-bind, unlock*: inf. 75.
innan, prep., *in, within*: w. dat. C. 43.
inwyrca, W₁, *perform (a rite)*: inf. 68 (see notes).
is, n., *ice*: ns. 73.
isern, n., *iron, steel*: ns. C. 26.

L

lācan, R, *swing, move as a ship or bird*: inf. C. 39.
læce, m., *leech, physician, doctor*: gs. lāces 45.
lædan, W₁, *lead, take, carry*: opt. 3 sg. lāde 112; inf. 178.
laguflōd, m., *water, stream*: ns. C. 46.
land, n., *land*: gs. londes 60; ds. londe 53, 100, lande C. 43; as. C. 53, gp. landa C. 46.
læne, adj., *fleeting, transitory*: asm. læne 6.
lange, adv., *long, a long time*: longe 104; sup. lengest 79, C. 6.
læran, W₁, *teach*: inf. 45.
læsest, adv., *least*: 159.
lætan, R, *let, allow*: imp. 2 sg. læt 1.
lāð, n., *injury, hurt, evil*: ns. C. 53; ds. lāpe C. 53.
lāð, adj., *hateful*: nsm. 60.
laðian, W₂, *invite*: 3 sg. laðap 98.
lēaf, n., *leaf, shoot*: dp. 26.

lēan, n., *'reward, recompense*: ns. 71; gp. *lēana* 6.

leax, m., *salmon, pike*: ns. C. 39.

lēf, adj., *weak, sick*: nsm. 45.

lencten, m., *spring, lent*: ns. C. 6.

lengi, adj., *related, having affinity with*: nsn. 121.

lēoda, see *līda*.

lēode, f., *people, race, nation*: dp. *lēodum* 86.

lēof, adj., *dear*: nsm. 60, 95; nsn. 86; gs. *lēofes* (sb. use) 104.

leofian, W₂, *live*: 3 sg. *leofað* 106.

lēogan, 2, *tell lies*: inf. 71.

lēoht, n., *light, a light*: ns. C. 51; ds. *lēohte* 67.

lēoht, adj., *light, not heavy*: nsn. 95.

lēohtmōd, adj., *light-hearted, of cheerful mind*: nsn. 86.

leomu, see *lim*.

leornere, m., *learner, scholar, reader*: ds. *leornere* 131.

lēoð, n., *song, poem*: gp. *lēoþa* 170; ap. *lēoþ* 140.

licgan, 5, *lie*: ptc. npm. *licgende* 159.

līda, m., *sailor, traveler*: ns. 104; ds. *lēodon* 109.

lif, n., *life*: ns. C. 51; as. 6.

lifgan, W₂, *live*: 1 pl. *lifgaþ* 136; inf. *lifgan* 173 (see *leofian*).

lim, n., *limb, branch of tree*: ap. *leomu* 26.

linden, adj., *made of the lime, or linden, tree*: nsn. 95.

liss, f., *mercy, favor*: as. *lisse* 71.

list, m., *skill, art, craft, cunning*: ns. 189.

līð, adj., *pleasant, sweet*: ns. *līþ* 100.

līðan, 1, *sail*: inf. *līþan* 109 (*līþan cymed*, comes sailing).

līðan, ? *go, suffer*: inf. *līþan* 26 (see notes).

lof, mn., *praise, glory*: gs. *lofes* 140.

longað, m., *desire, weariness*: as. *longað* 169.

lot, n., *deceit, fraud*: ns. 189.

lūcan, 2, *lock up*: inf. 74.

lufu, f., *love*: ns. 100.

lyft, mfn., *air, atmosphere, sky*: ds. *lyfte* C. 3, C. 39.

lyfthelm, m., *cloud, air*: ns. C. 46.

lysu, n., *wrong, evil*: ds. *lyswe* 189.

M

mæcg, m., *man*: gp. *mægca* 152.

mædle ? 180.

magan, PP, *may, can*: 3 sg. *mæg* 43, 105, 113, 156; 3 pl. *magon* 40.

mægen, n., *might, strength*: as. 115.

mægð, f., *girl, maiden, woman*: ns. 107.

magutimber, n., *progeny, all those who are born*: gs. *magutimbres* 33.

mæl, n., *meal, measure*: np. *mæl* 125.

mān, n., *crime, guilt*: ns. *mon* 197.

mænan, W₁, *speak of, relate*: 3 pl. *mænað* 66.

man(n), m., *man*: ns. *mon* 7, 45, 51, *man* 67, *mon* 108, 147, 155, 162; gs. *monnes* 81, 124, 175, 185; ds. *men* 132, 149, 153, 205; as. *monnan* 45, *mon* 65, 101; np. *men* 4, 36, 59, 168; gp. *monna* 138, *manna* C. 57; dp. *mannum* C. 65; ap. *monnan* 103.

māra, see *micel*.

mæst, m., *pole to support sail*: *mast*: ns. C. 24.

māpum, **māppum**, m., *treasure, jewel, ornament*: ns. *māppum* 155; dp. *māppum* 88.

mearh, m., *horse, steed*: gs. *mēares* 142; dp. *mēarum* 88.

mecgan, *W*₁, *stir, mix*: inf. C. 24.
meitan, 2, *melt, consume*: inf. 72.
meodoræden, f., *mead* [*cere-mony* ?]: ds. meodorædenne 88.
meotud, m., *God, creator*: ns. 7, 16, 29, 138, 165, C. 49, meotod C. 57; gs. meotodes C. 65.
mere, m., *sea, lake*: ns. 107.
mereflōd, m., *flood of water, ocean*: ds. mereflōde C. 24.
mete, m., *food, meat*: as. 111, 125; ds. mete 115.
mēpe, adj., *weary, exhausted*: nsm. 111.
micel, adj., *much, great*: nsm. 197; npm. myccle C. 4; comp. gsm. (or asn. ?) maran 111; asn. māre 60, 152.
mid, prep. w. dat., *with*: 22₂, 25, 36, 58, 61₂, 82, 86, 115, 171, 189₂, C. 40.
middangeard, m., *earth, world*: gs. middangeardes 29.
mīn, pron., *my*: asn. 2.
missenlic, adj., *dissimilar, different, various*: apn. missenlicu 13.
mōd, n., *mind, spiritual opposed to bodily part of man*: ds. mōde 41, 51; ap. mōd 13.
mōdgedōnc, mn., *thought*: np. mōdgedoncas 124, 168.
mon, see **mān**.
mon, see **man**(n).
mon, pron., *one, they*: n. mon 4, 45, 47, 48, 49, 104, 112, 115, 139, 145, 146, 156, 187, man C. 45.
mōna, m., *moon*: as. mōnan 41.
moncyn, n., *mankind, men*: ds. moncynne 16.
monge, see **monig**.
monian, *W*₂, *claim, ask*: 3 sg. monað 60.
monig, adj., *many, 'many a'*: asn. monig 15; apm. monig 168; apf. monge 13; dpf. monegum 197.
morpōr, mn., *murder*: as. 115.

morpōrcwealm, m., *slaughter, murder*: as. 152.
mōtan, anv., *may, can, be able*: opt. 3 sg. mōte 49.
munan, PP, *remember, be mindful of*: 3 sg. mon 142.
mund, f., *power, protection*: dp. mundum 107.
mūð, m., *mouth*: ns. C. 37; gp. mūpa 125.

N

næglan, *W*₁, *nail*: pp. nsn. ge-
 nægled 94.
nænig, pron., *none, no one*: nsm. 144, nāni C. 63.
nales, adv., *not, not at all*: 150.
nāt, see **witan**.
ne, adv., *not*: 1, 9, 33, 34, 40, 42, 49, 56, 105, 113, 117, 151, 164.
ne, conj., *nor, neither*: 9, 10, 11, 40, 41.
nefne, conj., *unless, except*: 106, 186.
nēfre, adv., *never*: 38.
nelle, see **willan**.
nergend, m., *Savior*: ns. 135.
nergende, see **nerian**.
nerian, *W*₁, *protect, save*: pret. 3 sg. nerede 199; ptc. nsm. nergende C. 63.
nest, n., *provisions, victuals*: ns. 38.
niman, 4, *take away, seize, carry away*: 3 sg. nimeð 31, 120; inf. 157.
nīð, m., *trouble, effect of hatred*: ns. 195, 200; nīþ 198.
nīwe, adj., *new*: apf., nīwe 99.
nȳd, n., *necessity, need, distress*: is. nȳd[e] 38.
nyt(t), adj., *useful*: sup. nsn. nyt tost 119.
nyttian, *W*₂, *make use of, enjoy*: 3 sg. nyttað 110.

O

- of**, prep. w. dat., 1. *from, out of*: 30, 196, C. 30. — 2. *of*: 44.
- ofer**, prep. w. acc., *over, upon, throughout*: 33, 168.
- ofercuman**, 4, *overcome, vanquish*: pp. ofercumen 114.
- oft**, adv., *often*: 35, 65, 66, 101, 146, 148, 187, 191.
- oftēon**, 2, *take away, deprive*: pp. oftigen 40.
- on**, prep. w. dat. and acc., 1. *on, upon, in, within* (w. dat.): 7, 25, 32, 48, 50, 58, 63, 70, 100, 104, 113, 126, 127, 145, 183, 188, 203, 204, C. 2, C. 3, C. 16, C. 17, C. 18, C. 19, C. 20, C. 21, C. 22, C. 23, C. 24, C. 25, C. 26, C. 27, C. 28, C. 29, C. 32, C. 33, C. 34, C. 35, C. 36, C. 37, C. 39, C. 40, C. 42, C. 47, C. 48, C. 61. — 2. *on, into, to* (w. acc.): 112, 136.
- ōnettān**, W₁, *be busy, be active*: inf. 141.
- on feorran**, adv., *afar, at a distance*: 53.
- onfōn**, R, *receive, undergo a rite, accept*: 3 sg. onfēhð 70.
- onge**, see *ange*.
- ongildan**, 3, *pay penalty, be punished for*: inf. C. 56.
- onginnan**, 3, 1. *begin*: 3 pl. onginnað 52. — 2. *attack*: inf. 176.
- onhæle**, adj., *secret, hidden*: as. onhæle 1.
- ord**, m., *point* (of a weapon): ns. 204.
- orðanc**, adj., *cunning, skilful*: nsn. C. 2.
- ōþer**, adj., *other, second*: nsm. 103; gs. ðpres 155; dsm. ððrum C. 52.
- oþ þæt**, conj., *until*: 47, 48.
- oþþe**, conj., *or, and*: 171, 177.

R

- ræd**, m., *counsel, wisdom*: ns. 22, 119; as. 92, 139.
- rand**, m., *boss, edge, margin*: ns. C. 37.
- rēafere**, m., *brigand, robber*: ds. rēafere 130.
- reced**, mn., *house, hall, palace*: gs. recedes C. 37.
- recene**, adv., *quickly, straightway*: 62, ricene 92.
- reord**, f., *speech, tongue, language*: ap. reorde 13.
- rīce**, n., *kingdom*: as. C. 1.
- rīce**, adj., *powerful, mighty*: nsm. 134.
- ricene**, see *recene*.
- riðan**, 1, *ride*: inf. 63.
- riht**, n., *right, justice, truth*: ns. ryht 22, 119; ds. rihte 36.
- rinc**, m., *warrior*: np. rincas 178.
- rodor**, m., *firmament, heaven*: ap. roderas 134.
- rogian**, W₂, *flourish, grow*: inf. 119.
- rōwan**, R, *row*: 3 sg. rōweþ 187.
- rūm**, adj., *roomy, spacious, ample, extensive*: nsm. C. 37; apm. rūme 15, 134.
- rūmheort**, adj., *liberal, munificent*: nsn. 87.
- rūn**, f., *confidence, counsel, secret*: as. rūne 87; ap. rūne 139.
- ryht**, see *riht*.

S

- sacan**, 6, *fight, contend*: inf. 28, C. 53.
- sacu**, f., *strife, sedition, dispute*: as. sace 20.
- sæ**, mf., *sea*: nsf. 55.
- sæ̅l**, mf., *time, season*: dp. sæ̅lum 52.

- sār**, adj., *painful, grievous, distressing*: nsn. sār 41.
- sāwul**, f., *soul, life*: ns. C. 58; gp. sāwla 135; dp. sāwlum 36.
- scead**, n., *shade*: ds. sceade 67.
- sceaft**, m., *shaft (of a spear)*: ns. 130; ds. sceafte 203.
- sceomian**, W₂, *feel shame, be ashamed*: ptc. sceomiande 67.
- scēot**, n., *shooting, rapid movement*: ds. scēote C. 40.
- sceððan**, 6, *hurt, harm*: pret. 3 sg. scēð 200.
- sceppan**, 6, *create, form*: pret. 3 sg. scēop 165.
- scīnan**, 1, *shine*: inf. C. 49.
- scip**, n., *ship*: ns. 94.
- scīr**, adj., *bright, pure*: nsm. 67.
- scop**, m., *poet*: ns. 128.
- scriðan**, 1, *go, glide, creep*: 3 pl. scriðað C. 13; inf. C. 40.
- sculan**, anv., *must, will, shall*: 3 sg. sceal 4, 7₂, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 38₂, 39₂, 45, 49, 50, 51, 61, 63₂, 67, 68, 71, 72, 75, 77, 80, 82, 84, 94, 101, 104, 115, 118, 122, 123, 130, 131, 139, 145, 149, 153, 154₂, 156, 158, 173, 187, 189, 203, 205, C. 1, C. 16₂, C. 17, C. 18, C. 19, C. 20, C. 21, C. 22, C. 23, C. 24, C. 25, C. 26, C. 27, C. 28, C. 29, C. 30, C. 31, C. 32, C. 33, C. 34, C. 35, C. 36, C. 37, C. 39, C. 40, C. 42₂, C. 43, C. 45, C. 47, C. 48, C. 50₂, C. 51₂, C. 54, C. 58; 3 pl. sceolon 4, sceolun 62, sceolon 83, 125, 160, 182, sceolan C. 14; pret. 3 pl. sceoldan 176; opt. 3 pl. sceyle 178.
- scūr**, m., *shower*: ns. C. 40.
- scyld**, m., *shield*: ns. 94, 130; ds. scylde C. 37.
- sē**, **sēo**, **ſæt**, 1. dem. pron., *def. art., the, this, that*: nsm. 30, 35, 37, 38, 60₂, 70, 103, 112, 148, 151, 173, 187, 190; nsf. sēo C. 58, C. 61; nsn. þæt 41, 117, 134, 138, 195; gsm. þæs 35, 124, 164, 206?; gsn. þæs 33, 42? 70, 105, 165?; dsm. þām 71, 137; ds. þam 70, 196; as. þæt 43, 150? C. 56, C. 64; isn. þý 190; npm. þā 178, C. 59; gp. þara 6, 183. — 2. rel. pron., *who, which*: nsm. 34, 43, 136; nsf. sīo 161; gsm. þæs 100; asm. þone 199; asf. þā 21; as. þæt 2, 120, 136; apn. þā 31.
- sealt**, n., *salt*: ds. sealte C. 45.
- secgan**, W₈, *say, tell, speak*: opt. 3 sg. secge C. 65; inf. 139.
- sefa**, m., *mind, heart*: gs. sefan 169.
- segl**, mn., *sail*: ds. segle 186.
- segelgyrd**, m., *yard of a ship, sail-yard*: ns. C. 25.
- sēl**, adv., *comparative, better*: sup. nsm. sēlast 81.
- seldan**, adv., *seldom*: 112, 186.
- sele**, n., *hall*: ns. 158.
- sellic**, adj., *strange, wonderful*: nsn. 127.
- sēman**, W₁, *settle (a dispute)*: 3 sg. sēmaþ 20.
- sendan**, W₁, *send*: 3 sg. sendeð C. 9.
- sēo**, f., *apple of the eye, pupil*: ns. 123.
- sēoc**, adj., *sick, ill*: nsm. 112.
- seomian**, W₂, *rest, hang, lie securely*: inf. C. 25.
- sē ðe**, pron., *who, which*: nsm. sē þe C. 12; npm. þā þe C. 2; apm. þā þe C. 9.
- sepēah**, adv., *nevertheless, however*: 104.
- sib(b)**, f., *peace*: as. sibbe 20.
- sīd**, adj., *spacious, wide*: dsm. sīdum 186.
- sigefolc**, m., *victorious people*: gp. sigefolca C. 66.

- sigesceorp**, n., *triumphal apparel*: ns. 127.
- sinc**, n., *gold, silver, jewels*: ns. 127, C. 10.
- sīð**, m., *journey, travel, voyage*: ds. sīþe 104.
- sīððan**, adv., *after, from the time that*: sīþpan 165, 194, 199, syððan C. 58.
- slēan**, 6, *slay*: pret. 3 sg. slōg 198.
- slitan**, 1, *slit, tear*: 3 sg. sliteð 148.
- slīðan**, 1, *harm, hurt, damage*: ptc. asm. slīþendne 202.
- slīðheard**, adj., *very fierce*: nsn. slīþherde 177.
- smilte**, adj., *mild, pleasant, serene*: nsm. 55.
- snotor**, adj., *wise, prudent*: nsm. C. 54; $\frac{3}{4}$ npm. snotre 36; sup. nsm. snoterost C. 11.
- snyttro**, f., *wisdom, understanding*: ns. snyttro 123, 167; ds. snyttro 22.
- sōð**, n., *truth*: ns. C. 10; as. 36.
- sōðcyning**, m., *king of truth, Deity*: ns. 135.
- spere**, n., *spear, lance*: ds. spere 204.
- stælan**, W₁, *avenge, institute*? inf. C. 54.
- stān**, m., *stone, die*: ns. 190.
- standan**, 6, *stand*: 3 sg. stondeþ 96; opt. 3 sg. stonde 53; inf. stondan 64, 69, 158, standan C. 23, C. 35.
- stēap**, adj., *prominent*: nsm. C. 23.
- storm**, m., *storm*: as. 51.
- stræ̃l**, f., *arrow, shaft*: ds. stræ̃le 154.
- strēam**, m., *stream*: ns. C. 23.
- strēon**, **strēowen**, f., *couch, bed, place where anything rests*; hence, *a chest or casket for treasure*: dp. strēonum 68.
- strong**, adj., *strong*: dsn. stron-gum 51.
- stȳran**, W₁, *steer, guide, rule*: inf. 51.
- sumor**, m., *summer*: ns. 78, C. 7; ds. sumera 113.
- sund**, n., *ocean, sea*: ns. 78.
- sundor**, adv., *severally, each by himself*: 169.
- sunne**, f., *sun*: as. sunnan 41, 112.
- sunwlitig**, adj., *sunbeautiful*: sup. nsm. sunwlitigost C. 7.
- swā**, adv., *so, thus*: 32, 165, 200.
- swā**, conj., *as, even as*: 11, C. 49; swā . . . swā, adv. and conj., as . . . as: 55-57, as . . . so 168.
- swæ̃s**, adj., *one's own*: asm. swæ̃sne 198.
- swefan**, 5, *sleep*: inf. 179.
- swegel**, n., *heaven, sky, sun*: ns. C. 7.
- swegle**, adv., *brilliantly*: 78.
- swegltorht**, adj., *heavenbright*: ap. swegltorht 41.
- swelgan**, 3, *swallow*: pret. 3 sg. swealg 194.
- sweltan**, 3, *die*: inf. 27.
- sweord**, n., *sword*: ns. C. 25; ds. sweorde 126, 204.
- swift**, adj., *swift*: sup. nsm. swift-ust C. 3.
- switol**, adj., *clear, sweet, evident*: sup. nsn. switolost, C. 10.
- swið**, adj., *strong*: sup. nsf. swiðost C. 5.
- sylf**, pron., *self, himself*: nsm. sylf 135, 158, sylfa 138, C. 66.
- syllan**, W₁, *give, grant*: 3 sg. syleð 12, syleþ 99; pret. 3 sg. sealde 172; opt. 3 sg. sylle 48; inf. 43, 156.
- symle**, adv., *always*: 89.
- syn**, f., *sin, crime, wrong, hostility*: np. synne 132; ap. synne C. 54?
- syððan**, see **sīððan**.

T

- tæfl**, f., a board for playing a game, a die: as. tæfle 182.
tæfle, adj., gaming, given to play: gsm. tæfles 185.
teala, adv., well: 46.
tēon, from tihan, 1, accuse: 3 sg. tihð 187.
tēon, W₂, create, ordain, arrange: pret. 3 sg. tēode 34, 43.
teosel, m., small stone; hence die: dp. teoselum 185.
tīd, f., time, a certain time: dp. tīdum 125.
til, adj., kind, good, excellent: nsm. 23, 142, C. 20; gsm. tiles 142; dp. tilum 23.
tīrfæst, adj., glorious: gp. tīrfæstra C. 32.
tō, prep. w. gen. and dat., 1. w. gen., there, thither: 35.—2. w. dat., tō: 53, 91, 97, 129, 147, 155, C. 152.
tō, adv., too: 111, 112, 144.
tom, adj., tame, not wild: gsm. tomes 142.
tōbrēdan, 3, separate by a quick movement, turn the back, break off: opt. 3 pl. tōbrēden 192.
tōdælan, W₁, separate, divide: opt. 3 sg. tōdæle 181.
tōglīdan, 1, glide away, slip off: opt. 3 sg. tōglīde 182.
torht, adj., bright: gsf. torhtre 40.
toru, n., emotion (anger or sorrow): ns. 182.
tōðmægen, n., strength of tusk: gs. tōðmægenes C. 20.
tōweorpan, 3, scatter, bandy: 3 pl. tōweorpað 191.
trēow, f., faith, truth: ns. 160, C. 32.
trēowu, n., tree: np. trēo 160.
trum, adj., firm, strong: nsm. C. 20.

- trymman**, W₁, strengthen: inf. 46.
tū, see **twēgen**.
tūn, m., inclosure surrounding a dwelling, a habitation of men: ds. tūne 146.
tungol, n., heavenly body, sun, moon, star, planet: ns. C. 48; ap. tunglu 40.
twēgen, num., two: nm. 182; nn. tū 23.
tȳdran, W₁, be prolific: inf. C. 48.
tyhtan, W₁, incite, urge, persuade: inf. 46.
tȳman, W₁, teem: inf. C. 48.

p

- ðær**, adv., there, where: þær 124, 146, C. 66.
ðæt, conj., 1. that, in noun clauses (subj. and obj.): þæt 42, 175, 188, 200? C. 45.—2. that, in order that (in purpose clauses): þæt 46, 50.
ðe, pron., indecl., who, which, that: þe 30, 35, 37, 60₂, 71, 112, 116, 165, 170? 172, 173, C. 59, C. 64.
ðēah, adv., though, although: þēah 112, 113.
ðēaw, m., custom, usage: gp. þēawa 18.
ðencan, W₁, think: 3 sg. þenceð 116.
ðenden, conj., while: þenden 182.
ðēod, f., nation, people: ds. þēode 50; np. þēode 57; gp. þēoda 18; dp. þēodum 197.
ðēoden, m., lord, ruler (Christ or God): ns. þēoden 12.
ðeof, m., thief: ns. þeof C. 42.
ðēostru, fn., darkness: dpn. þys-trum C. 42, dp. þystrum C. 51.
ðēs, pron., this: gsf. þysse C. 55; dsf. þysse C. 2; asf. þās 34, C. 41.

ðin, pron., *thy, thine*: asm. þinne 1, 3; apm. þine 3.

ðing, n., 1. *meeting*: as. þing 18.
— 2. *circumstance*: dp. þingum 58.

ðolian, W₂, *suffer, lose, suffer loss*: inf. þolian 39.

ðonne, adv., *when (half with a causal idea, since)*: þonne 42, 185. — *when*: þonne 56, 96, 103, 109, 110, 117.

ðonne, conj., *then, yet*, þonne 108, 170 ? — correl. ðonne . . . ðonne, *when . . . then*: þonne . . . þonne 57, 58.

ðrāg, f., *time, season*: ds þrage 38; dp. þrāgum C. 4.

ðriste, adj., *bold*: nsm. or npm. þriste 61.

ðriðthycgende, adj., *firm of purpose*: nsm. þriðthycgende 50.

ðrymm, m., *glory, majesty, magnificence*: ns. þrym 61; np. þrymmas C. 41.

ðū, pron., *thou*: ns. þū 2, þū 3, ds. þē 2.

ðunar, m., *thunder*: ns. þunar C. 4.

ðurfan, PP, *need, have need, be of need*: 3 sg. þearf 111, 125.

ðȳ, conj., *because*: þȳ 32.

ðȳ læs, conj., *the less, lest*: þȳ læs, 170.

ðȳrs, m., *giant, demon*: ns. þȳrs C. 42.

ðȳstre, see **ðēostru**.

U

umbor, n., *child*: np. (or ap. ?) umbor 31.

under, prep. w. dat. and acc., *under*: 1. w. dat. 186. — 2. w. acc. C. 64. — case indeterminate: 115, 116.

ungetrēow, adj., *untrue, unfaithful*: nsm. 163.

ungin, adj., *not ample*: sup. nsm. unginnost 206.

unlæd, adj., *poor, miserable*: nsm. 120.

unnyt, adj., *useless*: sup. nsn. unnyttost 120.

unstille, adj., *not still, unquiet*: nsn. 78.

unpinged, adj., *sudden, unexpected, unasked*: nsn. 35.

unwioted, adj., *uncertain*: asm. unwiotodne 146.

uppe, adv., *on high*: C. 38.

ūser, pron., *our*: asm., ūserne 5.

W

wæd, f., *garment, dress*: as. wædo 48; ap. wæde 99.

wæl, n., *slaughter, carnage*: as. 151. WLE

wæl, mn., *deep pool, gulf, stream*: ds. wæle C. 39.

waldend, m., *ruler, Lord*: ns. 43.

wamm, mn., *moral stain, impurity*: dp. wommum 65, 101.

wanian, W₂, *diminish, curtail*: 3 sg. wanige 34.

wæpen, n., *weapon*: gp. wæpna 201.

wær, f., *compact, treaty*: as. wære 101.

wārig, adj., *stained with seaweed, soiled*: asn. 99.

wærlēas, adj., *false*: nsm. 162.

wæscan, 6, *wash*: 3 sg. wæsceð 99.

wæstm, m., *fruit*: ap. wæstmas C. 9.

wæter, n., *water*: ns. 74; gs. wætres 110; ds. wætere C. 27.

wēa, m., *woe, misery*: ns. C. 13.

wealdan, R, *rule*: 3 sg. wealdeð 137.

weall, m., *wall, cliff*: np. weallas 54.

weallan, R, *boil, foam, rage*: inf. C. 45.

weallstān, m., *stone for building*: gp. weallstāna C. 3.

wearh, m., *outlaw, villain*: ns. C. 55.

wearm, adj., *warm*: nsn. 113.

wearn, m., *a multitude, great deal*: dp. wearnum 187.

weaxan, R, *grow, increase*: inf. 160.

weccan, W₁, *wake, waken*: 3 sg. weceð 56.

weder, n., 1. *weather*: dp. wederum C. 42. — 2. *good weather*: ns. 77.

weg, m., *way*: ns. wæg 79; gp. wega 145.

wegan, 5, *bear, carry*: inf. 74.

wel, adv., *well*: 145.

wēnan, W₁, *expect, await*: 3 sg. wēneð 42; inf. wēnan 104.

wendan, W₁, *change, turn*: 3 pl. wendað 9.

weorpan, 3, *throw*: 3 sg. weorpeð 185, 190.

weorðan, 3, *be, become*: 3 sg. weorpeð 117, weorð 155; 3 pl. weorpeð 32; pret. 3 sg. wearð 194; opt. 3 sg. weorðe 105; weorpe 111.

wēpan, R, *weep, mourn, bewail*: 3 sg. wēpeð 151.

wer, m., *man*: ns. 24; ds. were C. 33; as. 101; gp. wæra 166; dp. werum 128.

wērig, adj., *weary*: nsm. 187.

wesan, anv., *be, exist*: 3 sg. bip 8, 19, 35, 40, 41, 55, 59, 70, 81, 110, 112, 114, 117, 119, 173, 177, bið 37, 54, 79, 97, 102₂, 104, 121, 124, C. 10, C. 13; is 134, 138, 193, C. 61, byð C. 3, C. 4, C. 5₂, C. 6, C. 7, C. 10; 3 pl. bēoð 23, C. 1, bēop 57, 168₂, syndon C. 2, syndan C. 4; pret. 3 sg. wæs 11,

199, (w. neg.) næs 195; opt. 3 sg. sȳ 33, 113, C. 65, wese 50; opt. pret. 3 sg. wære 175; opt. pret. 3 pl. wæran 176; inf. wesan 84, 86, 113, 165, bēon 87.

wic, n., *place, dwelling*: ns. 110; as. 108.

wicfreoðu, f., *peace among dwellings*: as. wicfreoþa 129.

wīde, adv., *widely, in different places*: 14, 196, 199, 201.

widgangol, adj., *rambling, roving*: nsn. widgongel 65.

wīf, n., *woman*: ns. 24, 65, 85, 101; ds. wife 96.

wīg, n., *fight, conflict*: ns. 85; as. 129.

wiht, fn., *ought*: as. wiht 9.

wilcuma, m., *welcome person*: ns. 95.

wilde, adj., *wild*: nsm. C. 18.

willā, m., *will*: as. willan 6.

willan, anv., *will, wish*: 3 sg. wile 6, wille 152; (w. neg.) 1 sg. nelle 2; 3 sg. nelle C. 44 (see notes); 1 pl. nellað 71.

wind, m., *wind*: ns. 54, 56, C. 3; ds. winde 187, C. 41.

windan, 3, *twist, roll, weave*: pp. wunden 153.

wine, m., *friend*: as. 145.

winelēas, adj., *friendless*: nsm. 147, 174.

winter, m., *winter*: ns. 77, C. 5.

wīs, adj., *wise*: dp. wisum, 22.

wisdōm, m., *wisdom*: ns. C. 33.

wīslīc, adj., *wise*: npn. wislicu 166.

wist, f., *sustenance, food*: as. wist 48.

wīte, n., *punishment, torture*: as. wīte 43.

witan, PP, *know, be aware*: 3 sg. wāt 29, 42, 44, 146, C. 57, C. 62; (w. neg.) 3 sg. nāt 35, 114; inf. 92.

wið, prep. w. dat. and acc., 1. w. dat., *against*: wip 187, wið C. 16, C. 50₂, C. 51₂, C. 52₂, C. 53. — 2. w. acc., *with*: wið 19, wip 101, 121.

wipre, n., *resistance*: as. 54; ds. 129.

wlanc, adj., *splendid, sumptuous*: nsm. C. 27.

wlenco, f., *pride, high spirit*: ds. wlenco 61.

Wōden, m., *Wodin, Wotan, Teutonic god of war*: ns. 133.

wōh, n., *wrong, injustice*: ap. wēos 133.

wolcen, n., *cloud*: np. wolcnu C. 13.

wonhȳdig, adj., *foolish, careless*: nsm. 162.

wonsælig, adj., *unblest, miserable*: nsm. 147; np. wonsælge 21.

word, n., *word, speech*: np. word 166; dp. wordum 1, 191; ap. word 65.

worn, m., *multitude, many*: as. 170. See **wearn**.

woruld, f., *world*: gs. worulde C. 55; as. 24, 34, C. 41.

wracu, f., *misery, exile*: ns. 153.

wriæd, m., *bandage, band*: ns. 153.

wrætlic, adj., *noble, excellent, beautiful*: nsm. C. 3.

writan, 1, *write*: inf. 139.

wrixlan, W₁, *exchange, deal*: inf. 4.

wrōhtdropa, m., *drop bringing strife or crime*: np. wrōhtdropan 196.

wudu, m., *wood*: ns. C. 33; as. 72; gp. wuda 110.

wuldor, n., *glory, heaven*: ds. wuldre 7; as. 133.

wulf, m., *wolf*: ns. 151, C. 18; ap. wulfas 147.

wundor, n., *wonder*: dp. wundrum (*wondrously*) 74, (*wonderfully*) C. 13.

wunian, W₂, *dwell*: 3 sg. wunað C. 66; inf. 174.

wyn, f., *joy, delight*: ns. 107.

wyrcean, wyrcan, W₁, *work*: pret. 3 sg. worhte 133; inf. wyrcean C. 21.

wyrd, f., *fate*: ns. 174, C. 5; np. wyrda 9.

wyrp, f., *recovery*: as. wyrpe 43.

Y

ȳcan, see **īcan**.

yfel, n., *evil*: ns. 120; ds. yfele C. 50.

yldo, f., (*old*) *age*: ns. 10; ds. yldo C. 50.

ymb, prep. w. acc., *round about*: 28, C. 46, C. 53, C. 55.

yumbsittan, 5, *sit around, sit at*: inf. 182.

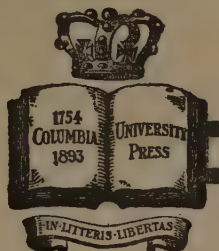
yrfc, n., *inheritance, property*: ns. 80.

yrne, see **īernan**.

ȳð, f., *wave*: dp. ȳðum C. 23.

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